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Lithuania Decision's Possible Results Analyzed

AU2003165590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Boyko Angelov article: "Lithuania at Crossroads"]

[Text] "I am sending the decree of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, adopted on 15 March 1990. Within three days you are to report the measures on implementing the decree." This was the text of the telegram of Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and its chairman, Vytautas Landsbergis. As already known, the decree defines the restoration of Lithuania's independence as judicially invalid.

The telegram was received in Vilnius on 16 March. Landsbergis' reaction was published on the following day. He said at the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that the Parliament now has much more important tasks than discussing Moscow's "ultimatum." Nevertheless, an answer will be given "rapidly," apparently on Monday [19 March]. Apparently, the "first draft' of this answer is evident already—this is Landsbergis' statement at Lithuania's Supreme Soviet after receiving the decree of the Third Congress. This is a decision of a foreign country, it does not oblige Lithuania, nobody has the right to revoke the country's decisions, and generally, one must not react, but continue what has begun....

Lithuania's parliament reacted accordingly. Decrees and laws were adopted with lightning speed. A series of appeals seeking support and understanding was adopted and sent to various addresses. On 17 March an appeal was addressed to "all democratic governments in the world" to recognize Lithuania's independence.

At the same time, the political crisis and the crisis of the government continue to grow in Vilnius. The dissatisfaction with the election of Landsbergis as Supreme Soviet chairman, effected by the Parliament, where "Sajudis" enjoys a stable majority, grows. Another question emerges: Why the new leader of Lithuania categorically opposes the idea of an all-people referendum on independence vis-a-vis the USSR? Hundreds of thousands of signatures in support of Algirdas Brazauskas, Lithuanian Communist Party leader, have already been collected. Public opinion polls, including the one conducted by the "Gallup" Institute, show that he is much more popular among the Lithuanian population than Landsbergis. Brazauskas, who declined the proposal to become one of Landsbergis' three deputies, accepted on Saturday the post of vice premier of the new government. He is supported by Kazimiera Prunskiene, who several days ago resigned from the Independent Communist Party of Lithuania. Brazauskas is included in the parliamentary membership of the delegation that will conduct negotiations in Moscow.

Two political tendencies are clearly emerging in Lithuania, and they are expressed by two authoritative political figures. Both Landsbergis and Brazauskas assume the burden of great responsibility. For the time being, both are doing everything to avoid the impression of "rivalry." However, now it is more than clear—Lithuania is at a crossroads. The directions are two, while the final goal is identical. The first direction is toward "independence immediately and at any cost," selected by the professor of music. The second—a gradual and prudent approach, proposed by the experienced politician.

What direction will Lithuania chose? It is not only the future of the Lithuanian people that depends on the answer.

Ministry Official Says 'No Debts' to Soviets

AU2003194990 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Bulgaria has no debts to the Soviet Union and this country's active balance now in the current Bulgaro-Soviet goods exchange amounts to some 400 million roubles.

This was said by Krustyu Popov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, at the "round table" which was held today on the state and prospects of bilateral economic cooperation.

There are no debts, but there are, however, problems, as it was seen at the discussion between Bulgarian and Soviet scholars and experts. They refer mainly to the low quality of the mutually supplied machinery and equipment, as it was said at the meeting.

A joint working group is developing mechanisms for stage-by-stage transition to payments on the basis of international prices and in convertible currency. This transition, according to Popov, will enable the Bulgarian economy to switch "step by step" to a market mechanism and payment in freely-convertible currency with the other countries of CMEA [CEMA].

An immediate transition based on convertible currency in trade relations with the Soviet Union would have meant not "shock therapy" but rather a state of coma for us, Popov said. He recalled that Bulgaria meets 90 per cent of its needs of oil, and 100 per cent of natural gas through Soviet imports, and 80 per cent of this country's trade is realized in the framework of CMEA.

Valentin Dyakov, Soviet trade representative to Bulgaria, expressed a conviction that the problem about currency payments will be solved in the light of Bulgaria's status as the most favoured nation in trade with the Soviet Union.

N. Atlantic Assembly Deputies Approve Changes

AU2003163390 Sofia BTA in English 1522 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Deputies of the North Atlantic Assembly spoke today in favour of changes in

Bulgaria and the other Eastern European countries. Mr Patrick Duffy, the assembly chairman, said that changing Bulgaria is a challenge to all for finding the necessary practical ways for development of relations.

At a meeting with a delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, which is visiting this country and the Committee on Foreign Policy at the National Assembly, the guests were informed in detail about the processes of restructuring in this country.

The Bulgarian side drew the attention to the situation in the Balkans, to peculiarities of Bulgaria's relations with neighbouring countries. In reply to a question it was said that irrespective of the poor fame of this region, there is no danger at present to complicate further the situation in it.

The Turkish deputy Ismail Sengun recalled that he was the initiator of the resolutions adopted over the last year by the assembly, related to human rights infringements of Muslims in Bulgaria. He stressed the profound change in the policy concerning Muslims in the last months.

According to Patrick Duffy changes in Eastern Europe will doubtless have a favourable impact on East-West relations and especially on the course of the Vienna negotiations, at which an early signing of a final document might be expected, though, as he said, there are a number of complex technical issues which remain to be solved.

Todorov, Dimitrov Meet Deputies

AU2003195990 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—The North Atlantic Assembly delegation met today with Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov, with Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, and with the leadership of the Parliamentary Commission on Issues of Defence and Interior Affairs.

Boyko Dimitrov stated the country's views on issues of cooperation and security in Europe, on interrelations between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, as well as on the situation in the Balkans. He spoke in favour of strengthening of the European cooperation and Bulgaria's active participation in the all-European institutions.

Stanko Todorov dwelled on the work of the supreme legislative body in the conditions of democratization. In reply to questions about the forthcoming elections he explained that there is a trend towards a mixed election system which is something between the proportional and the majority represenation ones. If parliament is to consist of 250 M.P.'s [members of parliament], 175 of them will be elected in election regions, while the remaining 75 will be included in the national election list.

Stanko Todorov said that there is to be an election of a president with broad powers, by the whole of the people.

Boris Karamfilov, chairman of the Commission on Issues of Defence and Interior Affairs at the National Assembly, said that military expenses in 1986 amounted to 1 billion 715 million leva or to 8.78 per cent of the state budget. In 1990 the relative share of these expenses in the state budget dropped to 6.41 per cent. The number of armed troops dropped by 10,000 people and it now amounts to 107,000.

Boris Karamfilov expressed the conviction that if the processes of detente were to continue, there are real possibilities for further cuts of military expenses in this country, which is her [Bulgaria's] sincere wish.

Nastev Addresses European Economic Meeting

AU2003182390 Sofia BTA in English
1728 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Bulgaria Stands for United Economic Space in Europe"—BTA headline]

[Text] Bonn, March 20 (BTA corr.)—Bulgaria is interested in the successful ending of the Conference for Economic Cooperation in Europe, including the adoption of the final document, said today Atanas Nastev, head of the Bulgarian delegation at the CSCE Conference for Economic Cooperation which continues with plenary sessions.

The Bulgarian diplomat stressed that reforms in Bulgaria differ mostly by their steadiness. He spoke of the government's understanding that reforms should be handled by seeking of broad national concord.

The programme of Andrey Lukanov's government, which guarantees transition from the system of central planning to a market economy, an issue on which there are no differences between the ruling and the opposition parties in Bulgaria, drew the interest of the participants in the conference.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation backed the proposal stated many a time at the conference, to build a united economic space in Europe, in which, according to him, no different standards should be used as regards the individual Eastern European countries, in relation with the rates of economic development in them.

Lukanov Receives Chief of Hungarian Bus Firm

AU2003212790 Sofia BTA in English
2102 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Today Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Andrasz Szemszei, director general of Ikarus.

They exchanged opinions and ideas on the development of long-term industrial cooperation between Bulgarian companies and Ikarus and discussed the survey of the possibilities for cooperative production of buses and aggregate assemblies.

'Radioactive Tobacco' Imported From Italy

AU2003141690 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Radioactive Tobacco"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Some time ago, before November 10, 1989, a Bulgarian company called National-International (seated in Geneva, Switzerland) imported in Bulgaria 16 thousand tons of Italian tobacco. It was all legal. According to the certificate of the National Health Service in the region of Apulia (Italy), there were no radioactive elements in the tobacco. But according to the analysis made in Bulgaria the tobacco was radioactive. Anyway the transaction secured a profit of almost one million dollars.

Today's ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME writes about the "tobacco story" under the headline "Exhumation Raising Many Questions." Additional data are revealed: Part of the tobacco was sent to the Bulgarian cigarette factories to be turned into "Arda," "Femina" and "BT," and free of charge at that. Another part was thrown away in... the water supply zone of the town of Razgrad. There was an agreement that the authorities in Razgrad would receive in return an installation for the production of nicotine sulphate, lines for the production of tomato preserves and for bottling soft drinks and an asphalt-paving machine.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME exposes the attempts of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations to cover up the story by trying to prove that the tobacco was not radioactive.

The authors of the article propose to refer the matter to the Chief Prosecutor's Office.

Lilov Greets Mongolian Party Leader on Election

AU2003152890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov, Supreme Council chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has sent a greetings message to Comrade Gombozhavyn Ochirbat on his election as Central Committee general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Interior Minister Discusses Opposition

AU2003165390

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 16 March on page 7 carries a 5,000-word interview with Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, by Svetozar Pavlov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent, entitled "I Believe!" The interview takes place in Semerdzhiev's office in Sofia on an unspecified date.

In the introductory paragraph it is pointed out that "the interview is the first in a series of interviews with the most significant political, state, and public figures."

In the interview, Semerdzhiev discusses his private life, career, hobbies, and political beliefs in a rather informal manner. Asked about how he felt when the roundtable talks' participants requested him to sign a declaration that "a certain building in Sofia is not bugged," and "what will happen if a bug, glued with chewing gum, is found under a desk in the building," Semerdzhiev answers:

"Yes, yes.... We cannot exclude the possibility that hostile forces or people interested in destabilizing the situation in the country could organize such a joke. Therefore, I invited Dr. Zhelev, Mr. Drenchev, Mr. Dertliev, and some other figures, and proposed to adopt joint measures to prevent such a provocation, because we all are interested not only in expanding the dialogue among the various social forces, but also in constructing real mutual confidence."

Semerdzhiev later expresses the opinion that "the opposition is necessary," and that "if the political opposition in Bulgaria had not been destroyed in 1947 by the unfortunate law on banning the 'Nikola Petkov' Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and other parties, Bulgaria today would not have had to face the problems it faces."

Semerdzhiev describes his activity as a writer, his family, and his hobbies. He repeatedly expresses the view that "the law must govern in the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

Asked about whether the Ministry of Internal affairs is prepared to cope with "possible extremism" related to the ethnic issue, Semerdzhiev answers:

"The very fact that there are three different organized committees active in the ethnic issue itself leads toward escalating the polarization and confrontation of society. This is a paradox! We struggle for unity, but act in a manner that enhances the differences. There is only one conclusion: We must tell the Bulgarian people the entire truth about the events in recent years and the processes that are taking place today! Only the truth! Then everyone will understand the danger that threatens us! And this danger grows. As a minister of internal affairs, I can say that the danger grows every month, week, and day!...

"I see our role in facilitating dialogue between citizens with different positions. And if, nevertheless, confrontation emerges, we must not allow the line between the differently thinking citizens to become a zone of excesses and fratricidal unrest."

In the final part of the interview, Semerdzhiev again returns to the issue of the "supremacy of the law" and the importance of the Constitution.

Panel Probes Interior Ministry's Past

AU0503193990 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The Ministry of Internal Affairs announced that a commission of inquiry, chaired by the first deputy minister Mr Lyuben Gotsev, has been

appointed to look into violations of the law committed by Ministry of Internal Affairs employees under the authoritarian regime and to consider cases of employees who have been improperly punished on grounds of biassed and false accusations during that period.

Twenty-two persons have been so far rehabilitated on orders of Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs.

The commission continues its inquiries.

Changes in Ministry of Internal Affairs

AU0103114390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Plamen Enchev report: "The 100 Days of the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] A little over 100 days have elapsed since 10 November 1989, and almost everything has changed about the Ministry of Internal Affairs. People are quite justified in calling it "the former Ministry of Internal Affairs." This was stated at yesterday's news conference held by Yordan Ormankov, chief of the ministry's press center and Ministry of Internal Affairs spokesman.

The People's Militia Services and the Fire Department are the only old structures that remain from the ministry. The State Security Department and the Security and Protection Administration practially no longer exist. Instruction No. 3 issued by the Council of Ministers Bureau has established a National Service for the Defense of the Constitution and a Protection Department subordinate to the National Assembly. The latter is in charge of protecting only four people—the head of state and his deputy, the Council of Ministers chairman, and the National Assembly chairman, as well as official delegations and visitors from abroad. The internal troops are being transferred to the border guards. On the basis of State Council decrees, 26 generals from the top echelon of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been discharged. Major General Engineer Lyudmil Marinchevski has been appointed deputy minister of internal affairs. He is a representative of the younger generation in the ministry, as was explained.

One of the latest collective meetings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided that permits for Bulgarian citizens visiting border areas should be eliminated, with a few exceptions concerning the areas bordering the Republic of Turkey. A proposal was submitted to eliminate exit visas for Bulgarian citizens traveling abroad. The question of what we should gain or lose by eliminating the engineering-technical fortifications at our borders was also discussed.

Let us add some more details we heard at the news conference that might be of interest for our readers: Approximately 6,600 convicts are presently serving their sentences in the 13 prisons and 23 minimal security detention communities existing in our country. There are no political prisoners among them. Among the 66 convicts sentenced on the basis of Chapter 1 of the Penal Code, 45 persons were sentenced for espionage according to Article 104 of the Penal Code.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is expected, as soon as possible, to adopt specific legislative initiatives for new laws on the People's Militia, on the Security and Fire departments, and on the National Investigation Services, which will be separated from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A proposal on transferring "penal institutions" (namely prisons) from the responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Justice Department is expected to be submitted as early as at the next National Assembly Session, which is scheduled to open on 5 March 1990.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO asked whether any employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have remained jobless. On this occasion, we learned that not only long-serving employees, but also young people who have been employed for only two to three years have been dismissed. A commission in charge of assisting the unemployed of this ministry has been established. The work of the commission, however, is very difficult. Retraining schools for the employees are just about to be established. The fact that leaflets are circulating in numerous factories and enterprises recommending that former Ministry of Internal Affairs employees should not be employed is really alarming. In the meantime, 1,200 militiamen posts are unoccupied in Sofia, which, according to a rough estimate, means that 400 institutions and buildings in our capital remain unprotected.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership has approved an initiative of its employees to establish their own professional trade union organization.

A hundred days after 10 November 1989 ,the Ministry of Internal Affairs has the ambition of transforming itself from the "shield and sword" of the revolution into a protector of society. The past has been assessed and the assessment is by no means pleasant; it is sad, but inevitable. The first step has been taken, we await the next ones.

Lilov Discusses Change, Renewal

AU0503204490 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Mar 90 pp 190-196

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov, Supreme Council chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Chairman, your deposed predecessor Todor Zhivkov was an uneducated, corrupt apparatchik who was recognized neither by the people nor by the party. How was it possible for such a man to stay at the top as Bulgarian party-state leader for 35 years?

[Lilov] That is the sad consequence of our system. In fact, Zhivkov was not a man who lived up to our country's old political traditions or who met the demands that must be made on a modern political leader.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why was he then not overthrown earlier?

[Lilov] The truth often has two sides. The one is the authoritarian system that made dictators such as Stalin, Zhivkov, Ceausescu, or Honecker possible. The other side is the fact that dictators create a sophisticated apparatus including all types of aggressive mechanisms, which makes it almost impossible to overthrow them.

[DER SPIEGEL] You tried on your own to revolt against the dictator as early as 1983, and you failed. Why did nobody help you?

[Lilov] Because neither the conditions nor the people were ripe for it. Politics is much more complicated than morality. The totalitarian system in its Balkan variant was very cruel. It did not allow my comrades to help me. I do not blame them for that. Of course, a change would have been much better in November 1983, and would have spared our country much suffering.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was Moscow informed about your coup last November?

[Lilov] I would not call it a coup. It was much rather a very hard, high-risk struggle that could have ended very badly. Just think of Romania. As for Moscow, the comrades there certainly had no objections, because our renewal corresponds to the developments in the Soviet Union. However, the forces who then solved the problem are in Sofia, not in Moscow.

[DER SPIEGEL] At your recent party congress, at least four groups quarreled with each other—a socialist group, two social democratic groups, and the old dogmatics. Where are you on the political spectrum?

[Lilov] I would consider myself as belonging to the center of the reformers, a bit more to the left of the center. I believe that democratic socialism still has a future.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, the majority of the socialist group left the Communist Party recently and founded a party of their own.

[Lilov] Yes, some 1,200 comrades left us. I regret this, because to me the "Alternative Socialist Association" was the reformist ferment in the party. However, I think that we will continue to work for a party of democratic socialism.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you a Marxist?

[Lilov] I would call myself a modern Marxist who has realized the necessity of a far-reaching renewal of Marxist theory. There are many modern questions for which classical Marxism has no answers. The Western left realized that long ago; but here, Stalin has put the Marxist idea in the ice box, so to speak.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the new party manifesto, the term "centralism" was replaced by the extremely unclear term "democratic unity." What does this term mean?

[Lilov] Much has remained unclear in our document, because the development leading to a democratic party is not yet over. We know very well what we do not want; however, we still know too little what the future should be.

[DER SPIEGEL] What does "democratic unity" mean?

[Lilov] First, the total renunciation of centralism that has only led to deformations both in politics and in the economy. Second, the quick introduction of the democratic principle, both in the party organization and in the implementation of its resolutions. There must never again be lone decisions.

[DER SPIEGEL] The majority of the opposition, but above all most people, are fed up with the experiment of communism and want to abolish it. What is the party's reaction?

[Lilov] I simply do not believe that the majority want to abolish communism. We can talk about a deep crisis of confidence toward the party and the past system; however, nobody will reject the great values of civilized mankind, such as freedom, justice, humaneness, or equality. It will be the elections that will bindingly answer these questions.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Communists have moved far away from their ideals. They consider control of society more important. Your Communist Party, too, still holds all important offices. How do you intend to push reforms within your nomenklatura?

[Lilov] We would like to totally do without the compromised nomenklatura, above all when the task is to renew the party. However, following the long party rule, it will be very difficult to find new, qualified people. We need more time for that.

[DER SPIEGEL] The new leadership stopped the official discrimination against the Turkish minority surprisingly fast. However, the minorities still do not have legally guaranteed rights.

[Lilov] We cannot solve this difficult problem that requires a lot of political courage precipitously; it is historically and ethnically too complicated. However, we cannot go back and we do not intend to go back, nor will we make any concessions to Bulgarian or Turkish nationalism.

[DER SPIEGEL] What would be the Communist Party's reaction if the Turkish minority was to found its own parties?

[Lilov] We are on principle opposed to any party being founded on an ethnic basis because in our experience such parties touch off excessive nationalism. Just look at what is happening in Romania or in Yugoslavia, in Kosovo. Parties should represent joint interests, not a national principle.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you say about the Bulgarian monarchists who want to have the overthrown King Simeon II back on the throne again?

[Lilov] We have many problems here that must be solved. The return to the monarchy is not among them and is to me nothing but political exoticism.

[DER SPIEGEL] The state security service in particular is responsible for Bulgaria's bad international reputation. Dark stories about attempts to assassinate dissidents, arms smuggling, and drug trafficking were never clarified. When will that be done?

[Lilov] It was one of the best decisions of the new leadership to appoint General Semerdzhiev as new interior minister. He is a man with a perfect biography and of high reputation. He will basically reorganize the service and place it under parliamentary control.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will the State Security Service not be disbanded?

[Lilov] No. However, it will be basically changed in essence. The ill-famed sixth department, the political police, has been abolished. Its past activities are now being closely examined. Possibly the cases you mentioned are among them. However, there are also many rumors in Bulgaria.

[DER SPIEGEL] Comparing Bulgaria with other socialist countries, which one would come closest to your ideas?

[Lilov] What all countries in East Europe have in common is probably their will to reject the deformed Stalinist model. But that is where the differences begin. It is a specific factor for Bulgaria that the party has recognized the necessity of restructuring relatively early, and has developed its own initiatives.

[DER SPIEGEL] President Mladenov expressly warned about the dangers of private enterprise: It would only create chaos and unemployment. Do you share this view?

[Lilov] I have not heard Mladenov reject private enterprise that categorically. If I understand him correctly, he is neither opposed to private enterprise nor to private ownership. He may have warned about introducing privatization in areas where it is bound to lead to exploitation again—in large enterprises.

By the way, all forms of ownership—private and cooperative ownership, as well as state ownership—are equally admitted. What that will be like in practice, I will only be able to tell you in a few months.

[DER SPIEGEL] During his visit to Sofia in the fall of 1988, West German President Von Weizsaecker described Bulgaria as the most Germanophile East European country. In view of so much praise, you may express a wish. What does Sofia expect of Bonn?

[Lilov] We have no problems with wishes. Political, economic, technological, and financial aid are highly welcome. Germany is one of the economic giants in Europe, and Bulgaria is in a crisis. We know only too well that we can learn a lot from Germany.

[DER SPIEGEL] Bulgaria would have to create new conditions for effective economic aid. More than 50 percent of your exports go to the Soviet Union. Will that be changed?

[Lilov] Definitely. We need to have a redistribution of our foreign trade turnover and a better distribution of our resources. We also must change our laws to adjust them to the interests of your economy. Therefore, we want to hold elections as soon as possible to give a new government on a broad basis an opportunity to act.

[DER SPIEGEL] At the CEMA meeting late in January, the Bulgarians voted against disbanding this unwieldy economic community. Why?

[Lilov] Because the main part of our exports still goes into the socialist countries, as you noted quite correctly. Some time will pass until there is a broad entire opening toward Europe. However, that does not mean that CEMA should not be radically modernized.

[DER SPIEGEL] In May, the first parliamentary elections in 40 years will be held to which competing parties have been admitted. Will they be really free?

[Lilov] We regret very much that the opposition has not accepted our offer of forming a broad coalition government. We will ensure really free and secret elections. However, I do not particularly like the idea of inviting foreign observers to supervise the elections. That only violates the voters' pride.

[DER SPIEGEL] If the Communists have to go into opposition following the elections, will you continue as party chief?

[Lilov] You would not put anyone losing elections on a bed of roses. If we lose, I will probably resign from my post. That is very normal. I will not be sad, and I will return to science.

Culture Minister Goranov Explains Program

AU0703125690 Sofia BTA in English 1119 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Making cultural activity independent of the state, creating a reasonable balance of the state budget and the economic initiative in culture, freeing this sphere of the restrictions imposed by a lot of pointless regulations and paragraphs are the main points in the pre-election minimum programme which Prof. Dr. Krustyu Goranov, minister of culture, stated in the interview given to NARODNA MLADEZH.

Culture belongs to society and not to the state, which is only part of it. In Prof. Goranov's view the state structures, as long as they are necessary, should be flexible enough to serve the society; culture should not serve the state. The minister of culture proposes to set up a council of eminent cultural figures in their capacity of individual

persons, called by him the council of wise men, which should have the power not only to give advice, but instructions as well.

Minister Goranov pointed out that the market mechanism can be applied in the field of culture in a reasonable form. The establishment of funds that would be independent of the budget conjuncture have already been considered.

Money Unavailable to Exploit New Oil Find

AU0703134890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Rumyana Boyanova report: "In Awaiting Oil From the Black Sea"]

[Excerpt] A new oil field has been discovered in our country. It is situated near Bokhot village, in the Pleven Municipality.

Bulgaria is not Kuwait, of course. Nevertheless, it is precisely at this moment that the Bulgarian oil business could prove the importance of its 40-year existence. It is precisely at this moment, however, that the great cuts of our financial crisis threatens to mutilate its last hope.

Oil, however, is the "living" and best saving of currency. No national economy in the world deprives itself of its "black gold," no matter how small its resources may be.

Bulgaria annually imports approximately 13 million tons of oil and produces 100,000 tons. The oil industry is the only producing branch in our country that does not receive state subsidies. Oil prospecting and oil production are entirely self-supporting. We could even speak of profit, if the last three gas and oil deposits and the fourth, newly discovered field should be further prospected and exploited, but all these activities require money and we have no money. [passage omitted]

Precious Metals Company Workers Sign Protocol

AU0503195990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The BTA reported the common announcement of the Governmental Commission on Classifying Labor Categories, the strike committees and trade union at the Precious Metals Company, and the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions.

According to the announcement, a protocol on an agreement has been signed between Krustyu Stanilov, minister of industry and technology, and the representatives of the strike committees and trade union of the Precious Metals Company. On the basis of the protocol, the governmental commission began to review the issues that have been posed. The commission's meeting is attended by representatives of the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions. It was pointed out that the timetable, specified by the protocol, will be observed.

'Silent Dismissals' in Vidin Factory Noted

AU0503133490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 March 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Law on Silent Dismissals Has Been Enacted"]

[Text] A representative of the Rubber Products Company in Vidin called on the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board and reported some alarming facts.

Apart from the proposal that the Vidin Technological Chemical Combine should leave the Rubber Products Company, which was submitted at a joint meeting of the economic management council and the combine trade union council held on 5 January, complicated processes seem to have developed within the management of the company itself.

As early as 25 December 1989, seven representatives of the company's management, with the support of 16 experts, accused company Director Tosho Toshev of practicing an authoritarian style of work that apparently caused damage to the collective. They demanded his resignation.

Two days later, petitions requesting the establishment of a fact-finding working group in charge of resolving problems were submitted to leading state organs. At the beginning of February 1990, statements of the country's central trade union leadership and of the Vidin municipal commission in charge of investigating abuses and breaches of law were also submitted.

The result of all these activities was that 12 of the aforementioned managers and employees were notified about their dismissal on 13 February 1990. We are far from expressing any opinions on these events. It is nonetheless true that no positive results can be achieved by practicing the "law of silent dismissals."

Problems With Kozloduy Nuclear Power Unit

AU0503112290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] Kozloduy, 28 February (TRUD correspondent Valeri Vedov)—Passions have become heated in seeking the reasons for the faults following the numerous emergency shutdowns of the No. 5 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Accusations are leveled first against the fitters, then against the operating and servicing staff, then the faults are blamed on the imperfect equipment. What is the truth?

Gospodin Yordanov, leader of the "Yuriy Gagarin" team of fitters, says: "I reject outright any doubts as to the quality of the installation work we have carried out. Our team is working on the first circuit in the reactor hall, and evidence of the quality of the installation work is provided by the acceptance documents and protocols signed. Every item of equipment installed by us is accepted following a punctilious inspection and the

correction of any omissions that may have occurred. Our work has also received high praise from the Soviet specialists, representatives of the chief designer, on whose initiative we received an award from the former Central Council Of Bulgarian Trade Unions for the high quality of our installation work. On no single occasion were we summoned as installation fitters by any commission investigating faults in the No. 5 unit. In my opinion, the reasons for the omissions should be sought in the repair and maintenance work and the quality of the existing automatic instrumentation."

Zakhari Boyadzhiev, "Nuclear Energy Industry" Economic Trust deputy director: "The automatic apparatus for controlling the processes of the No. 5 unit cannot under any circumstances be compared with the best world models. Its quality is inferior to West European products, but we only have what the Eastern market offers us. The present automatic equipment does not threaten the reliability of the unit, but it is perhaps not dynamic enough. We have taken this into account, and have made a number of improvements in the No. 6 generating unit."

Ivan Ivanov, director of operations for the No. 5 and No. 6 generating units: "At the request of our former government, a top-level Soviet commission has been carrying out an on-the-spot inspection to determine the causes of the frequent breakdowns in the No. 5 unit. This inspection covered the period from the startup of the unit to the beginning of February 1990, and it was established that six of the total of 15 breakdowns were the fault of the operating staff. Two of the faults were caused by imperfections in the equipment, two resulted from mistakes made by the installation organizations, while the reasons for the remainder were not determined."

Most of the specialists at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant voice the opinion that the truth about the condition of the No. 5 unit must lie somewhere in the middle, that is, the blame should be apportioned among all those who took part in the unit's construction, installation, maintenance, and operation. Now we must wait until the specialists complete their examination work.

Protocol Signed on Nuclear Power Plant

AU2602215490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The contact group in charge of the Belene Nuclear Power Station, appointed at the suggestion of National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov, signed a protocol today.

The protocol envisions the discontinuation of the assembly works at Belene reactor unit 1320. It advises refraining from fitting the so-called "flying" large steel constructions and protecting them against corrosion with a special cover.

It was decided to complete the construction part [words indistinct]. In the plant section the architectural work should be continued, but no foundations for equipment should be built.

An agreement was reached indicating the projects that should be discontinued and describing the method according to which the remaining construction work should be pursued. This is how normal conditions can be established for the parliamentary commission, which will be elected by the National Assembly, and is expected to express a competent opinion on the question of the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant. This should be an appropriate way to calm down the current tensions in the Belene-Svishtov area.

The protocol was approved by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov, and should be submitted to the National Assembly, which is expected to resolve the problem.

SDS Issues Ecological Assistance Appeal

AU0603195790 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Appeal For Humanitarian Assistance"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—After the initiative of Ecoglasnost, the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) turned to the international public with an appeal to cooperate in an issue which is of vital importance for this country: the ecological situation caused by the concealment of the consequences from the Chernobyl disaster. The appeal indicates that this disaster has brought to high pollution of foodstuffs and an unfavorable impact on birth rate, child mortality and illnesses.

We are aware, the appeal reads, that the issues can be solved only by the use of comprehensive measures for cleaning of the Bulgarian nature. It is, however urgent to undertake immediate measures and improve child nourishment. That is why, Ecoglasnost is turning to the international public with an appeal for urgent humanitarian assistance of children's foodstuffs and children's medicines. There is also a need of prefabricated houses for the victims of the earthquake in the Strazhitsa region, where the needs of the people are still not met, as well as for the Bulgarian Turks who had the bad luck to leave Bulgaria this summer as "tourists" and have now no homes.

The Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) is asking that the delivery be in kind and under its control as well as under the control of the official authorities.

Environment Committee Proposes Ecology Investment

AU2702175790 Sofia BTA in English 1658 GMT 27 Feb 90

["No Construction Without Ecological Projects"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The National Committee for the Protection and Regeneration of the Environment proposes to the Council of Ministers to increase the capital investments in nature-protecting constructions to three per cent of the budget. It is also proposed that the programme for overcoming the crisis should include a section devoted to the problems of ecology and that no construction should be carried out without working out ecological projects first. It is demanded that by June 30 the National Assembly should adopt a new environment law based on the Bucharest Declaration of 1985 and that a meeting of the seven Danubian countries should be convened to discuss problems related to the protection of the Danube.

It is pointed out that the committee should change its style and methods of work and that glasnost on ecological problems is a must.

Special attention is paid to the most pressing ecological problems. According to the committee they are 124. They are included in a special programme. The stress is laid on cleaning the air in Sofia, Burgas, Pernik, Dimitrovgrad, Razgrad and other settlements; on the construction of installations for cleaning up the water of the Iskur, Yantra, and Maritsa Rivers, the Danube and the Black Sea coast; on taking ecological measures in agriculture.

Newspaper Carries Series on Narcotics

AU0703092490 Sofia BTA in English 0809 GMT 7 Mar 90

[From the press review]

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Today's DEMOKRATSIYA starts publishing an article headlined "Narcotics for Weapons—the Bulgarian Connection." According to the article Bulgaria is the central operator in trading weapons for narcotics. This trade was motivated not only by the desire for profit-making, but also by the determination to destabilize the Western society, the article says.

New Patriotic 'Association' Established

AU0603180090 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] A patriotic-civic community striving for democracy, national revival, and protection of national values and ideals, called the "Bulgaria" Association, was established at the Fatherland Front Headquarters in Sofia on 3 March 1990. The association is a supra-party, autonomous organization that is independent from all political, state, and social institutions and is accessible to all societies, clubs, unions, sections, and others who are ready to accept the association's proclamation and statute and to work for the sake of Bulgaria's interests.

The following organizations signed up as constituent members of the association: the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests; the Rodolyubie Rhodope Union; the Saint Kliment Okhridski All-Bulgarian Union; the Democratic Union of Rebirth and Protection of Patriotic Traditions, Customs, Values and Interests of the Sofia Region Peasants [Shopi]; the Military-Historical Society; the "Bulgaria" Intellectuals' Club; and the Asen Zlatarov Ideological-Political Club. The new association is accessible to all those who support the cause of Bulgarian national interests.

At its first meeting, the Coordination Council adopted a statute and a proclamation. An additional declaration was also approved that expresses respect and wholehearted support for the joint measures adopted by the leaders of the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests, the Rhodope Rodolyubie Union, and the Movement of Rights and Freedoms in Bulgaria on national consensus and on preventing conflicts based on ethnic and religious issues. The societies that joined the "Bulgaria" Association declared their readiness to contribute to the propagation and implementation of the agreement reached by the three aforementioned organizations and to the declaration they adopted.

BCP Meeting Appeals to Citizens for Calm

AU0603080990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Mar 90 p 2

["Appeal For Peaceful Transition to Democracy" adopted at Sofia City Bulgarian Communist Party meeting in Sofia on 1 March]

[Text] Brothers and sisters, comrades, citizens, on 10 November 1989 Bulgaria embarked upon the path of renewal and democracy.

The country needs stability and calm, national consensus and reconciliation, it needs civil peace.

We are in favor of:

A democratic socialist society;

political common sense and constructive dialogue among all social forces;

fair living conditions and equal rights for all citizens.

We are expecting to hold free National Assembly elections in the near future.

For the sake of our common national interests and democracy, we should say no to hatred, no to violence, no to confrontation.

This is a period of decisive importance. Let us prove worthy of this great epoch!

We are facing a historic chance, let us not miss it.

From the Sofia City meeting convened on the initiative of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Reconciliation Committee Invokes Ethnic Issue

AU2502205190 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 25 Feb 90

["Letter to P. Mladenov Demands Radical Measures"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—The participants in today's general meeting of the National Reconciliation Committee expressed concern over the conflicts arising on an ethnical basis in the country and over the fact that taking concrete measures for the settlement of the problem is delayed.

It was underlined in the report of the Coordinating Council about the activity of the committee in the last month and in the speeches of the delegates of the local committees that in actual fact the decision of the Government for reducing the consequences of the migration campaign is not implemented. In many places the local authorities are doing all they can to frustrate the settlement of the property, labor and legal problems of the Bulgarian citizens who made trips or merely intended to do a trip to Turkey. It was the participants' categorical conclusion that the conflicting situation that arose in connection with the "revival process" and the wrong policy on the ethnic problem is worsening.

It was pointed out that the central authorities, being unwilling to lose their prestige before the elections, have left everything to the care of the local councils. This is the explanation for the passiveness of the Council of Ministers who have not set up the promised commission yet.

According to the participants in the general meeting the Bulgarian citizens' names bill, recently approved at a joint session of the Legislative Commission and the Commission on Public Interests and Citizens' Rights, will create prerequisites for legalizing the violence of human rights committed as a result of the hitherto prevailing policy. It was underlined that if the bill is adopted in the proposed form and if the State Council and the cabinet do not take measures to restore the violated constitutional rights to work, housing accommodation, free choice of names and freedom of consciousness and persuasions, ethnic hostility will mount.

Expressing concern over the fits of hypertophic patriotism on the part of some Bulgarian citizens whose pride has been hurt, the National Reconciliation Committee said that there is a danger of their becoming more frequent.

The meeting approved an open letter to State Council President Petur Mladenov which states all these important problems.

The letter underlines that in the present situation the interness of the central authorities can bring the country to the verge of a new catastrophe and international isolation. The committee insists that radical measures should be immediately taking for solving the serious social problems that arose in the Turkish ethnic community in 1989 to avoid any dangerous developments in the future. The National Assembly should adopt the soonest possible a really democratic law concerning the Bulgarian citizens' names. The responsibility rests with those who are now making decisions fateful for the country, the letter says in conclusion.

Civic Initiative Conference Ends

AU2502200890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] The first national conference of the Civic Initiative Movement ended. The delegates discussed the development of the movement during the three-month period since its establishment and certain disputes that emerged among its leadership. A group of the delegates, former Provisional National Coordination Committee members, left the conference during the debate.

With a quorum of 87 authorized representatives of committees from Sofia and the country, the conference adopted a political platform and basic principles of its statute on constructing the Civic Initiative Movement and of its leading organs.

The first national conference of the Civic Initiative elected by a secret vote Lyubomir Sobadzhiev as chairman of the movement. Khristo Peev and Emil (?Stungov) were elected spokesmen. Lyuben (?Otov) was elected secretary.

Republican Party Chairman Discusses Policies

AU2602172590 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Professor Dr. Aleksandur Popov, Republican Party of Bulgaria chairman, by Helmut Starauschek in Berlin; date not given: "Market Economy Desired in Bulgaria"]

[Text] [Starauschek] Your party was only established a few weeks ago. Does a young party also have historical roots?

[Popov] The Republican Party in Bulgaria is a national political party that continues the republican traditions of the Bulgarian people from the middle of the last century, from a time before the liberation from the Turkish yoke. After the liberation from Turkish rule, Bulgaria became a monarchy and later—after 1945—a republic. However, the totalitarian regime did not permit really republican structures to develop in the state leadership.

Only now, after 10 November 1989, have conditions for free political activities been guaranteed in Bulgaria. Thus, the establishment of the Republican Party in Bulgaria became possible on 6 January this year. It unites citizens who want to create a democratic and parliamentary law-governed state in Bulgaria with really republican institutions in the administration and the social and cultural state leadership and who strive for a democratic republican society. The party understands by this a society of free people that ensures the citizens'

equal rights and opportunities to freely develop their participation in decision-making in the leadership of the country.

[Starauschek] How can this be implemented?

[Popov] The Republican Party considers it necessary to immediately implement a well-considered and profound reform of economic and political law and to create an economy with a modern structure and technology, a law-governed state, and a society with real democracy, justice, and stability. The freedom of speech, press, conscience, religion, association, and culture, and also free travel and free legal protection of persons must be guaranteed.

We are for democratic and free elections, the creation of a permanently working parliament, the adoption of a new constitution according to the best examples of freedom and democracy, and the separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. In addition, we advocate the restructuring of the legal system and the system of the organs of legal protection, which are to primarily serve the people and are to be guided by law, and the recognition of the intellect, personal qualities, and professional abilities as the basis for the citizens' participation in exercising state power. My party demands that priority be given to private property—that is, personal property, the private property of families, groups, and cooperatives—that the creation and development of firms by individuals, also with foreign participation, will be supported, and that the variety of ownership forms that are equal before the law and are to function and compete with each other under equal economic conditions will be basically recognized. Finally, the Republican Party in Bulgaria advocates an open-market economy within and outside the country, in which the market mechanisms primarily regulate production, distribution, and consumption. In conclusion, I want to say that my party is in favor of an effective ecological policy that is guaranteed by law and uncompromising social control.

[Starauschek] How are these objectives, above all in the economic sector, to be firmly implemented?

[Popov] We will primarily support those citizens who produce goods and export services, especially in the sector of essential commodities and in agriculture.

In its program, my party has joint position with the republican parties of other countries, especially with the program of the Republican Parties [as published] of the United States. We hope that the U.S. side will help to restructure the Bulgarian economy when the two republican parties come closer to each other and get to know each other. In contrast to this, we decidedly dissociate ourselves from the neo-Nazi Republicans in the FRG.

[Starausched] You have got to know the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] and its objectives. On what is the mutual wish for cooperation between the parties based from your point of view?

[Popov] Looking for international partnerships, I became acquainted with the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the FRG and here in Berlin with the NDPD. In an open and friendly talk with NDPD Chairman Wolfgang Rauls, I ascertained many aspects that correspond to our program. Therefore, we are interested in the systematic development of relations between our parties. Here we are primarily interested in the NDPD's experiences in the political representation of interests, for example, of the craftsmen, tradespeople, private entrepreneurs, and members of the intelligentsia.

I return to Sofia from my first visit to Berlin as party chairman with the good feeling that I have found a friendly partner in the NDPD.

[Starauschek] What is the Republican Party's attitude toward German unity?

[Popov] We share the NDPD's views in this question, as formulated at your 14th party congress. Apparently, the unification of the two German states has become a national necessity and is on the agenda. However, like the NDPD, my party is also of the opinion that nothing should be precipitated and that the individual steps have to be prepared with caution, responsibility, and consideration, to avoid above all further social conflicts.

President Havel Continues Visit to France

Havel, Mitterrand News Conference

LD2003225390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1612 GMT 20 Mar 90

[News conference given by President Vaclav Havel and French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris; questions in French, except where indicated, with Slovak translation; reporters not individually identified; Havel's replies in Czech or Slovak with French translation; Mitterrand's replies in French with Czech translation—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted on Havel's impressions of France]

[Reporter] Arms exports are a source of income for the Czechoslovak economy. Do you think that the situation in this sphere will remain the same for the new Czechoslovakia? And if not, what will you do to compensate for the loss of profit?

[Havel] Czechoslovakia has had an important armaments industry—this is a kind of a tradition from the First Republic. We are stopping supplies of arms to all totalitarian regimes and dictatorships. Orders placed by the Czechoslovak Army and the Warsaw Pact have been falling rapidly. We are starting the conversion of the military industry. And you must not be angry with us if we continue for a while supplying arms to democratic states. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] France Inter. I would like to ask both presidents whether in your talks you spoke about the situation in the Baltic countries. Do you think that the present situation in the Baltic countries is worrying?

[Mitterrand] [We spoke] only in general terms. France has never recognized the annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union and today we do not want to interfere between the Lithuanian parliament and Gorbachev. Force should not be used. France hopes that Lithuania's rights will be recognized and that Gorbachev and the Lithuanians will reach agreement.

[Havel] We were both asked, weren't we? The right to self-determination is anchored in many international documents as one of the collective rights. Part of this is the right to find one's own method of state identity. This right is also anchored in the Constitution of the Soviet Union and, we believe, in the same way as France, that the position of Lithuania and the Soviet Union will be solved in a peaceful way—the position with regard to one another.

[Reporter] How is Czechoslovakia going to react to having so many tourists and foreign investment?

[Havel] Tourism will force us to build more hotels and amenities, and with regard to investments, we are creating joint enterprises and we will take care that not too many enterprises belong to foreign companies.

[Reporter] During the so-called velvet revolution, your friend, the economist Vaclav Klaus, presented a quite optimistic picture of the Czechoslovak situation. Now that you are in power, when you have all the strings in your hands, do you still have this optimistic view or is the reality that you have discovered more serious, more complex than you envisioned?

[Havel] Everything is, naturally, worse than we thought. But despite this, things are not so bad. We have good potential, our starting resources are good, I mean above all in the form of the creative potential of our nations and traditions and background. We have a nonsensical economic structure—we subsidized from the state budget the heavy industry that should subsidize the budget. We spend more energy on the production of energy than we actually produce. A project of extensive restructuring of the entire economy is being worked on. We want this process to take place without social shocks. And this can be the case, this is realistic.

[Reporter] FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. The result of the elections in the GDR was interpreted by many as a call for a speedy transition to unification. Presidents Mitterand and Havel, do you agree with this view? Do you think that the process that has begun already, for example the exchange union, will be accelerated further by the results of these elections?

[Mitterrand] That was the will of Germany—it wants unification.

[Havel] We knew that Germany would want to unite quickly even before the elections. The elections confirmed it. We are trying, I mean Czechoslovakia, to concern ourselves quite a bit with foreign policy, Europe's future, and that is why I travel abroad so often, because we know that European stability is a necessary condition for our country, which lies in the very center of Europe. Several times we have highlighted the fact that the process of Germany's unification should be a driving force for pan-European unification, not a brake on it, that is, it should be looked at in a European context and in an atmosphere of trust. It is the task of the Germans to remove any possible remnants of fear of a large Germany among their neighbors.

I spent a considerable amount of time in debate both with President Mitterrand and with the foreign minister about Europe's future. Europe's future is of exceptional interest to us for obvious reasons. We compared our ideas and to my great joy I found [words indistinct]

[Reporter] How will Germany's unification influence Europe?

[Mitterrand] It will become a better state.

[Reporter] President Havel, a short while ago you talked about the great project of economic renewal, restructuring. I think that there is a political discussion among your friends in your country and you are the one to make

decisions, have you done this or are you going to wait till the results of the elections in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that I am not an autocrat, that I cannot make decisions on my own. I would like to also draw your attention to the fact that the economic reform that our country faces, which we have to carry out, is something that has no historical precedent. This is a task that we can barely see being dealt with elsewhere. Various economic theories and various economists have, naturally, different views on this task. Our government has had the right to think about this challenging problem for a few weeks. Now it is arriving at a united view and is creating a concept—a kind of a long-term schedule of this economic reform.

This does not mean at all that it has not been doing anything since its appointment. The first package of bills, economic bills, has been submitted to the Federal Assembly—there were bills on private enterprises, state enterprises, joint-stock companies, etc. In the near future, at least three more bills will be submitted and they will make a kind of package with those already presented.

This does not mean an economic reform but it creates a prerequisite for it, or a kind of first step. As a sequel to this step, more steps will be taken. The government, in its program statement, has outlined the direction in general terms and now the government is elaborating on it in a more specific schedule. It is not easy for the government, as it has to take into account the specific political, social, and international situation. It has to skillfully balance financial operations with pressures on the economy iself, and so on. I would like to continue on this subject, but maybe someone else wants to ask something.

[Reporter] Mr. President, our country has been applying a unilateral foreign policy from which some regions have been basically excluded. How do you define your country's new foreign policy toward the countries of the Third World?

[Havel] In principle, Czechoslovakia supports or would like to have friendly relations with all nations. Naturally, it has a different attitude toward different regimes and it sees its diplomatic relations, above all, as the instrument of relations with peoples. So far, we have established diplomatic relations with Israel, with the Vatican, and no doubt we will also establish relations where we do not now have them. It seems to us that we should have friendly relations with all nations.

[Reporter] Mr. President Havel, since the beginning of the November events in Czechoslovakia, your movement Civic Forum spoke about and worked for the liquidation of military alliances and blocs. Could you explain your current position on this issue and do you think that France can contribute to the creation of a new Central Europe?

[Havel] We think that in the future there will be only one Europe, a united one, yet with differences preserved. Due to circumstances, the countries of Central Europe were somehow driven out of Europe. They all now want to return. Their situation is similar. It is natural that they want to coordinate their return. If Central European contacts—and perhaps even some bodies are being created—or if the existing bodies in the area of Central Europe are being made use of, I am consequently for the return of Central Europe to all of Europe.

[Reporter] Mr. Mitterrand, is France united in its view of Europe's future, and what do you think of this?

[Mitterrand] The majority of forces in France are for the construction of Europe on the basis of the Community of the Twelve. New organizations may be created that will make it possible for all European democratic countries to meet in the future. [words indistinct] They will discuss all common problems. President Havel and I discussed this. Europe is quite small compared to other continents.

[Reporter] Mr. Havel, in many countries of the former real socialism, nationalist currents are appearing that are threatening to provoke certain splits in society and to make the renewal of democracy impossible or difficult, to the extent that the French press has been considering whether Yugoslavia could, in fact, become some kind of European Lebanon. What do you think of this as president and what do you think of this as a man who has suffered himself?

[Havel] Naturally, among the many latent problems that have slumbered beneath the surface of apparent calm and alleged prosperity of the so-called socialist countries, there was also the problem of the national identities of various nations. Now that the shell of the false surface has cracked and all the problems have suddenly flooded out, naturally the nationality problem has also emerged. This is natural and we firmly believe that this development will be peaceful in this direction, that there will not be any local wars, conflicts, and clashes, and that everywhere such constitutional solutions will be found that will correspond to the will of the nations. If we have an influence on this, we would like to contribute to it so that the development goes in that direction. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. President Havel, your life and your work are a great measure of your popularity and your work in Czechoslovakia. President Bush asked you what you wish and you said help for the Soviet Union. We must admire a man who is capable of replying in this way. We would therefore like to ask you, do you have a message for us, for the Western world? Do you think that we can renew the spiritual unity, the spiritual resources that are coming from the East. And this is also a question for Mr. President Mitterrand.

[Havel] I think that it is the calling of all of Europe, with regard to its spiritual and cultural tradition. It is practically its role in this wild world to preserve some kind of spiritual order, caution in the face of all the pressures of

commerce, totalitarianism, forced conformity of life, and so on, so that it is Europe that recommends to all to put global interests above particular interests. And if the strange and quite specific experience of all those European countries that lived under a totalitarian system enriches this calling of Europe as a whole, then it will be good.

[passage omitted on Mitterrand saying there is one Europe with the same sources for its culture, and in response to a question, saying that his advice to Havel for the elections is just to be himself]

Meets Rocard, Dumas in Paris

LD2003184190 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 20 (CTK correspondent)—Prospects of a united Europe, the unification of Germany and the future security system in Europe were on the agenda of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's talks with French Premier Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas today, the second day of his visit to France.

During talks with Michel Rocard specific questions of economic cooperation were considered. France is open to all forms of cooperation with Czechoslovakia that would help accelerate the processes started in Czechoslovakia in recent months. The talks were marked by mutual accord and understanding, according to President Havel's adviser Milan Knazko.

At a dinner given for Vaclav Havel by Michel Rocard later, the French premier said he believed democratization of totalitarian regimes required increased vigilance as regards maintaining geo-strategic balance in Europe and in this context quoted from President Mitterrand's ideas that France wants a peaceful Europe but not an armed Europe, a continent in which each country would cut its forces to the lowest possible level and thus a new balance would arise.

Dealing with Czechoslovakia's role in Europe, Rocard said Czechoslovakia is prepared to become one of the spiritual crossroads of Europe and France will spare no effort in supporting this grand task. In his opinion, Czechoslovakia will be able to quickly follow up the economic ties which made it one of the most prosperous countries of Europe before the Second World War. He pointed out in particular the undeniable advantage of Czechoslovakia's economic potential and its low foreign debt.

President Vaclav Havel said in his address that the hopes and expectations to recover France as Czechoslovakia's friend of long standing have been fulfilled.

He said the increased interest in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy commits Czechoslovakia to be more active in this respect than other countries.

He said during talks with all French representatives the two sides had virtually identical opinions on Europe's future, on a continent of free and friendly countries in the spirit of confederation.

Europe has an unprecedented hope of becoming a continent that does not give the world wars, a continent where small countries need not be afraid of big ones and the big ones need not fear one another.

Dealing with the unification of Germany, President Havel said this must take place on the European background, on the background of certainty that German borders, just as the other European borders, are unchangeable, that a democratic system and democratic awareness prevail in Germany. Future Europe cannot be based on fear of Germany and it is Germany's task to rid those who are afriad of it of their fears.

The Czechoslovak president highly appreciated extensive offers from the French side in the sphere of bilateral relations.

Dienstbier Cancels Western Diplomats' Expulsions

LD2003201890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier has canceled the expulsions of Western diplomats that had been decided by the old Communist regime. This affects officials of the Canadian, British, and U.S. Embassies who supported Charter 77. Minister Dienstbier announced that the expelled diplomats can return to Czechoslovakia at any time.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Cuban Relations

LD2003161390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] In view of the fact that Czechoslovak-Cuban relations have recently been the subject of increased international attention, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers it necessary to adopt the following stand:

Czechoslovakia is interested in friendly relations with the Cuban people, with the Republic of Cuba. If mutual cooperation is to correspond to the requirements of the time, however, and indeed be in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, then it should reflect the present development in the world, the renewal and development of democracy in countries of East and Central Europe and in many states of Latin America.

The relations between the two countries have to be put on a new foundation. They have to be quite open, democratic, and they must not avoid any issues. This requires the removal of their present deformations, above all, their ideological character, to extend them to the entire society, the broadest social strata in the whole range of political views.

Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Cuba, says the statement, must be based on respecting generally recognized relations between states such as sovereign equality, independence, and mutual advantage, and by respecting adopted international obligations.

Democratic changes that take place in Czechoslovakia demand that foreign policy also promote the respect and observance of human and civic rights. Czechoslovakia, therefore, will be bringing attention to situations in which, in its opinion, human rights are violated regardless of where these regrettable phenomena take place.

Komarek Denies Sympathies Toward Pinochet

LD1603143190 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—"I want to stress that the published information about the alleged Czechoslovak official invitation for resigning Chilean President Augusto Pinochet to visit Czechoslovakia does not correspond with the actual course of my talks in Chile", Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek told CTK on the information published by the Latin American news agency PRENSA LATINA.

"This country has been spoken about in connection with the so-called Chilean economic model, and because I am an economist I was interested in using this model and at the same time expressed interest in potential meeting both with the current and resigning presidents in case of their journeys to Europe. Publishing this distorted information PRENSA LATINA was unfortunately unable to distinguish between the realistic position the Czechoslovak Government of national understanding wants to take and the alleged sympathies to the person of former dictator Pinochet", Valtr Komarek underlined.

"I hope that every realistically thinking person unlike PRENSA LATINA will understand this difference. Our foreign policy is newly orientated and cannot neglect anyone, I think. Nevertheless, I would like to emphasize my personal condemnation and the condemnation of the whole Czechoslovak government of the 1973 coup in Chile and all the violence that followed", Valtr Komarek said.

Komarek Authority to Invite Pinochet Denied

AU2003162290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Mar 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Denial"]

[Text] Prague— Referring to foreign press reports that Valtr Komarek, CSSR first deputy premier, reportedly invited General Augusto Pinochet to pay a visit to the CSSR, the Press Department of the CSSR Government Presidium Office announced yesterday that Valtr Komarek had no authorization from the CSSR Government for the invitation and the government will continue to proceed as if no invitation had been extended.

CTK Reports Komarek Activities in U.S.

LD2103110790 Prague CTK in English 0945 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] New York March 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First deputy Premier Valtr Komarek spent a very busy day here, conferring with dozens of prominent representatives of America's financial, business and political life.

The talks with the leading representatives of American banks indicated very promising possibilities for opening branches of these big banks in Czechoslovakia. The U.S. side has also promised to grant assistance in training Czechoslovak experts in banking, Valtr Komarek told CTK, adding that he also conferred about the preparation for another Czechoslovak-American roundtable which is to be held this September.

Valtr Komarek stressed that American representatives were great interested in the questions of economic reforms and joint ventures in Czechoslovakia.

Very interesting was a talk with prominent American political analyst Henry Kissinger who said he would like to visit Czechoslovakia and support the development of bilateral contacts, the Czechoslovak first deputy premier said.

Valtr Komarek leaves here today Washington for further talks.

CSSR, USSR Envoys Review Troop Withdrawals

LD2003203190 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—A total of 54 trains and 11 truck convoys carried 4,211 persons, 304 tanks, 316 armoured vehicles, 72 guns and mortars and 1,154 automobiles left Czechoslovak territory by March 19, 1990, Czechoslovak and Soviet Government envoys in charge of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia noted today.

At a planned meeting, the envoys considered questions linked with the implementation of the intergovernmental agreement of February 26, 1990 on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet troops were among the five Warsaw Pact armies which invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968.

The envoys noted that in spite of some partial problems with the loading of trains the overall timetable of the withdrawal is being fulfilled.

They also discussed critical remarks published in the media and public suggestions and demands from places where Soviet troops are stationed. The Soviet Government envoy stated that the Soviet side is paying special attention to the mentioned problems. The two sides stated that necessary land reclamation measures are being carried out in places where troops are stationed, and in training areas.

In connection with demands for a priority withdrawal of some garrisons, the two sides agreed on the conclusion that the adopted timetable of the pullout creates conditions for the implementation of the inter-governmental agreement.

Dienstbier: Lithuania 'Not an Independent State'

AU2003143390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Mar 90 p 2

[Marie Konigova report: "Czechoslovakia and the World"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The deputies' questions touched upon specific relations with some states. Apropos the Lithuanian issue, Minister Dienstbier said: This is not a matter for our foreign policy. At the moment, Lithuania is not an independent state; it has merely announced that it will negotiate about its withdrawal from the USSR. This is the answer to our direct question on whether Lithuania is an independent state.

Havel Receives Brzezinski 18 Mar

AU2003163490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "A Presidential Reception"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday in Prague Castle, CSSR President Vaclav Havel received Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to American President Jimmy Carter. CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier also participated in the reception. Their conversation mainly touched upon the economic reforms that await Czechoslovakia, their acceleration, and mutual aid for East European countries returning to Europe.

Szuros Letter Seen as Political Pressure

AU2003161290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Mar 90 p 11

[Commentary by Budapest correspondent Vojtech Vesely: "For National Minorities' Rights—But in a Different Way"]

[Text] In his recent letter to President Havel, Hungarian interim President Matyas Szuros wrote that the situation of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia is not improving in proportion with the development of democracy and that its justified claims are not taken into account in our country. As you already know, the development in Slovakia, according to him, even endangers relations between the two countries and that is why he appealed to V. Havel, asking him "to start settling the position of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia."

We might say that our two countries' highest officials have finally taken the matter of developing a full-fledged national life for the minorities into their hands, which we can but welcome—if only we did not have the calendar in front of us. The calendar shows us that M. Szuros hoisted the banner of the fight for national rights of his countrymen in the neighboring country on the eve of elections, a time when strong words will attract more interest than wise ones. Not to speak about the fact that in the not-so-distant past he had, as a secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, numerous occasions to express his worries about the fate of Hungarians in Slovakia. His pressure, since this letter cannot be called by any other name, is, moreover, addressed to the wrong person. The really justified and at the same time very, very modest demands of the Slovak minority in Hungary should be worth noticing by M. Szuros not only because of his high authority but also because of the alarming urgency of those demands. It would be enough if he took a stand on the problems of the Slovak minority in Hungary that were outlined in the letter published in last year's issue No. 23 of the Budapest Slovak weekly LUDOVE NOVINY, when he was National Assembly chairman, or if he explained why in this year's census only 10 to 15 percent of Slovaks in Hungary claimed their Slovak origin and why, for instance, the parents of 30 children in the community of Bukkszentlaszlo, where the Slovak population is in the majority, have been demanding in vain, for three years already, the opening of a Slovak-language kindergarten.

Many small or large painful problems, or historical wounds, could be pinpointed on one or the other side. Also words ending in "ism" could be applied, as our Slovak National Party did in its statement on Wednesday [14 March], but this would only lead to an escalation of strong words and pressure. In lieu of this, we are in favor of competition in practical steps of democratization, in favor of comparing not what is owed to our national minority in the neighboring country but how we are overcoming the unsatisfactory present situation in our own countries.

Klaus News Conference Addresses Economic Issues

AU2003130190

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, and Prague PRACE in Czech on 16 March carry correspondents' reports, ranging between 200 and 450 words, on a news conference held in Prague on 15 January, dealing with a recent visit by International Monetary Fund experts to Czechoslovakia. The press reports cite Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus' comments on the IMF visit and other subjects as well.

According to the MLADA FRONTA report, which is published on page 2, Klaus commented on reports about a decline in industrial production in Czechoslovakia in the last few months. According to MLADA FRONTA, "V. Klaus said that the decline is not at all dramatic, only about 2.4 percent. It is even quite possible that there has not been any decline at all because about the same percentage of people has left the industrial sector within

the same period of time, and their economic activity will most likely find its expression elsewhere." The MLADA FRONTA report also quotes Klaus' complaint about the "absolute dearth of experts who could communicate with IMF representatives, which is made even worse by their weak command of foreign languages." To help solve this problem, the IMF is to hold a seminar in Czechoslovakia this fall.

The RUDE PRAVO report, published on page 2, states that "Vaclav Klaus replied to a question about speculative purchases of East German marks. He announced that "we have already used up the allocation of marks agreed upon with the GDR Ministry of Finance for the first half of this year and expressed astonishment at the fact that our citizens are buying up large amounts of a currency that may quite abruptly lose its validity outside of the GDR. At the same time, he announced that the state bank is preparing a change in the koruna's exchange rate against the East German mark. He said that the Federal Ministry of Finance has recommended to the government that Czechoslovakia withdraw from agreements, on the basis of which the exchange rates among CEMA member countries' currencies are fixed."

The Prague PRACE report, published also on page 2, mentions that Vaclav Klaus also "assumed a stand on the last Federal Assembly session, which formulated the demand that the government draw up, as soon as possible, a draft law on expropriating illicitly acquired property of political parties, movements, and organizations. He said that he was horrified on hearing it."

Assembly Committees Consider Draft Laws

AU2003131990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "In Favor of a New Name, a New Emblem, and New Laws"]

[Excerpt] Prague—Members of the Defense and Security Committees of both Federal Assembly chambers agreed at a joint meeting with both draft constitutional laws proposed by the president of the republic. According to the first proposal, the CSSR's name will be changed to the Czecho-Slovak Republic [Republika cesko-slovenska]; the second proposal concerns the new state emblem (a quadripartite shield with the Czech lion in the first and fourth sections and the Slovak symbol in the second and third sections) and the new presidential standard. In connection with the Latin version of the motto "Truth Prevails" [Pravda Vitazi] on the standard, those experts who were present argued that it would be a problem to inscribe this motto onto the standard in both Czech and Slovak.

Yesterday, members of the Committees for Agriculture and Food of both CSSR Federal Assembly chambers discussed draft laws on association in social organizations, on the right of assembly, and on the right to petition. The law on citizens' association fully respects Czechoslovakia's international obligations and proceeds from the principles of the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights, the International Agreement on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Agreement on Trade Union Freedom and the Protection of Trade Union Rights. According to the law's stipulations, it will no longer be possible to abuse the so-called duplicity principle where a new organization was not permitted because an association that performed similar activities already existed. Licensing procedures have been abolished; instead, registration with organs of the republican interior ministries is sufficient. The draft petition law anticipates the new Czechoslovak constitution. The Federal Assembly and the republics' national councils have to work out a mechanism for dealing with petitions. [passage omitted]

Czech, Slovak Council Members Hold Meeting

LD1503133690 Prague CTK in English 1744 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bratislava March 14 (CTK)—Exchange of the experience from constitutional and legislative activities up to now and coordination of other steps in the interest of speeding up the fulfilment of legislative tasks for the elections in June were on the agenda of a joint meeting of functionaries of the Slovak and Czech national councils here today.

The Czech National Council delegation was headed by its Chairman Jaroslav Safarik and the Slovak by Chairman Rudolf Schuster.

Both sides recommended to preserve two-level management of national committees amid strengthening self-administration and adhering to the priority of state power in districts and on the primary level of national committees.

Socialist Party Congress Ends, Parties Merge

LD2103060690 Prague CTK in English 1425 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party will strive democratically for national and social justice for every citizen, said a resolution of the 24th congress of the party which ended here today.

The party had been active since 1948 together with other three non-communist parties in the National Front system which was subordinated to the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In harmony with the wish of members of three streams of the national social movement—the existing Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the exile Czechoslovak National Social Party—the congress declared unification of these parties into the Czechoslovak Socialist Party with over 20,000 members.

Representatives of the Italian Socialist Party, the Democratic Party from Poland and the Panhellenic Socialist Movement Pasok of Greece attended the congress as guests.

Liberal Democratic Party Meets in Slovakia

LD1803095990 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)—Delegates from Bohemia and Moravia met here today at a conference of the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative. Its sister party has started to work in Slovakia. This first political party based in Czechoslovakia since the communist coup in 1948 had been working illegally since 1987.

The conference dealt with the program documents of this liberal democratic party. The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative fully supports private business, including the sphere of health care. It will also strive to push through the introduction of religious lessons at schools and support the establishment of church and private schools.

The Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia had its general assembly here today. The organization is a sister party of the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative.

The Liberal Democratic Party is a new political party which has been formed during the two-year activity of the opposition political movement the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative. It carries out its activities in Slovakia.

Chairman of the Executive Committee Miroslav Janek said that the Liberal Democratic Party is a typical center party and a point of intersection of two political trends—Christian and social.

Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality Founded

LD2103060190 Prague CTK in English 1448 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)—"Through neutrality towards prosperity" is the main program idea of the Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality which was founded here today.

The party aims at internal democracy and concentrates especially on the experiences of Sweden, Austria and Switzerland where the broadest direct participation of citizens in decision-making about public affairs is being applied.

Small Parties Form Pre-Election Coalitions

AU2003163290

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak newspapers of 19 March publish several reports dealing with negotiations on, or conclusion of, coalition alliances between small political parties, the aim of which is to overcome restrictions that the new election law imposes on small political parties. Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 March publishes a statement denying the conclusion of such an alliance.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 March on page 3 carries an 800-word interview with Miroslav Janek, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party [Liberalnodemokraticka strana] in Slovakia, by Lubo Rabay entitled "A Small Roundtable Also Exists." The interview was conducted at the party's "first general assembly" in Bratislava on 18 March and deals with the political ambitions of this "centrist party, which is endeavoring to be a symbiosis of two political tendencies—Christian and social."

In the interview, Janek also criticizes what he perceives as discrimination of small political parties in Czechoslovakia, such as the five-percent threshold on election to legislative bodies or the small parties' nonadmission to the roundtable talks. At the end of the interview, Janek mentions that to overcome the five-percent threshold on election to parliament his party seeks a coalition with other "small parties of the political center." In this context, he says that "we have already reached an agreement on cooperation with the Party of Independent Democrats [Strana nezavislych demokratov] and the Party of National Prosperity [Strana narodnej prosperity] and are conducting negotiations with the Trend of the Third Millennium Party [Strana trend tretieho tisicrocia], the Slovak National Party [Slovenska narodna strana], and other parties."

On the same day, on page 2, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on page 2 carries a 100-word CTK report on a joint meeting of representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy and the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia in Prague on 18 March, the aim of which was to "unify and constitute a strong social democracy in Czechoslovakia on the federal level which would stand up to competition in the forthcoming elections."

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 19 March on page 4 carries a 250-word CTK report entitled "A New Political Coalition." The report provides information on the formation of a "new political coalition of parties that regards the freedom of the individual as the foundation of a free society and the widest possible assertion of private enterprise as the foundation of Czechoslovak economy's restructuring." This new coalition, which calls itself the Free Bloc [Svobodny blok], is said to be "made up of four registered parties—the Republican Union [Republikanska unie], the All-People's Democratic Party [Vselidova demokraticka strana], the Party of Constitutional Democracy [Strana ustavni demokracie], and the Party of Free Democrats [Strana svobodnych demokratov]—and five observers—the Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia [Demokraticka strana Ceskoslovenska], the Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality [Strana ceskoslovenske neutrality], the Club of the Danube Confederation [Klub podunajske konfederace], the St. Wenceslas Independent Association of Revolutionaries [Nezavisle sdruzeni revolucionaru od sv. Vaclava], and the Independent Peace Association [Nezavisle mirove sdruzeni]." According to the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report, in view of their "almost identical programs and aims," all these groups intend to run jointly in this year's elections as the "Free Bloc."

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 March on page 1 carries a 100-word statement by Jaroslav Broz, Party of the Moravian Countryside [Strana moravskeho venkova] chairman. The statement responds to reports that his party, together with the Party of the Czech Countryside [Strana ceskeho venkova], has concluded an election pact with the Civic Forum. Broz says that Frantisek Krejca, "representative" of the Party of the Czech Countryside, had no authorization to conclude political agreements on behalf of the Party of the Moravian Countryside, which is why his party "dissociates itself from all agreements concluded by Dr. Krejca." Broz also denies Krejca's claim, supposedly made at a meeting of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center in Prague, that the Parties of the Czech and Moravian Countryside have merged.

Agricultural, Integration Parties Form Coalition

AU1903160790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 2

[Statement by Jaromir Moravek, secretary of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party's Central Committee: "Reason Prevails"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Agricultural Party entered into a coalition with the Party of Integration. The Party of Integration joins together socially handicapped people, senior citizens, persons with physical and health handicaps, other socially weak and distressed strata, and all those who help them overcome their handicaps. This nationwide party's task is to unite groups of citizens who are deprived socially or in terms of health and, with their votes, to help the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party that, in turn, with its program and orientation is able to ensure the necessities of life and social security for the very difficult times ahead. The Party of Integration wishes, by its participation in the elections, to support the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party's list of candidates, on which the affiliation of candidates of the Party of Integration will be marked. The Czechoslovak Party of Integration calls a nationwide meeting of representatives of all initiatives and movements with social and health interests at Havirov, No. 3 II Petiletky Street, on 24 March 1990 at 1000.

Session Settles Rift in Brno Civic Forum

AU2003162090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Mar 90 p 1

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Cibulka-Sabata: End of Dispute?"]

[Text] Brno— A session of the Brno Civic Forum parliament, which ended 15 March, elected a new 11-member council. Neither Petr Cibulka nor Dr. Jaroslav Sabata—the two protagonists in the dispute over whether Engineer Josef Pernica (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) should remain in the position of city mayor—were elected to this council. During the session, some 1,000 citizens, most of them Petr Cibulka's adherents, stayed outside the new City Hall building in a yard that was provided with loudspeakers.

The parliament of the Brno Civic Forum rejected the Civic Forum Council's decision to close down the Civic Forum Press and Information Center in Mecova street, which has been under the leadership of Petr Cibulka, by a vote of 49 to 53. The final decision was left to the session of the new Civic Forum Council, complemented by 10 representatives from five Brno Municipal District Civic Forums, who belong to the 125-member parliament. It has become apparent that an audit of the economic activity and inventory of the multimillion Civic Forum property at the Press and Information Center in Mecova Street No. 5 is necessary. A five-member delegation of the Prague Civic Forum Coordinating Center was present at the session.

CPCZ Membership Currently 1,099,000

AU2003163690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Roundup of RUDE PRAVO correspondents' reports on district conferences of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held on 17 and 18 March: "Everything for the Elections!"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Speaking in the discussion at the conference of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Prague-7, Vasil Mohorita, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee first secretary, stated that one stage of postwar history of Europe, in which the so-called Soviet model of socialism was liquidated in a number of countries, has ended. Not only the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is adapting to the new situation. Today the party has 1,099,000 members. In January and February, 5,600 people joined the party. The reviving party does not seek a return to the period before 17 November. The policy of one-party monopoly is ruled out; this policy led to errors and mistakes. We are concerned with building a culturally advanced and socially equitable society, V. Mohorita stressed. [passage omitted]

Vacek Discusses Civilian Service

AU2103100190 Prague PRACE in Czech 15 March 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Minister of National Defense Miroslav Vacek by a "kjk"-signed PRACE reporter; in Prague on 14 March: "Civilian Service a Reality"]

[Text] The draft bill on civilian service, which was so long-awaited by young people, was the second item on the agenda of yesterday's 25th joint meeting of the People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations. Its introductory statement reads: "The civilian service is a service that is beneficial to the public and that is an obligatory service, according to this law, for those citizens whose religious faith or moral creed prevent them

from serving in the Army." It sounds a little paradoxical but the truth is that Minister of National Defense Engineer Miroslav Vacek was among those who sincerely welcomed the new law. You are asking why? Here are his answers:

[Vacek] It is true that since its establishment the Czechoslovak Army had no provision for a civilian or alternative service. We must take into account that civilization has arrived at a certain stage when some movements, for instance the pacifist movement, are arising, and the objectives of such movements are not always bad. Having considered all the circumstances, we started to actively participate in something that would make it possible for some people, especially younger ones, not to serve in the Army, based on religious or moral faith, but to carry out so-called civilian service. The new law's significance for our Army is that cases of young people refusing to do military service will disappear. It is true that this concerned only individuals, that such cases did not represent a mass phenomenon. There were many cases, however, where other ways were explored to avoid military service, and this avoidance was based, above all, on real religious motives. There were unpleasant cases of people taking on harsh obligations as an alternative to military service, such as work in the mining industry for 10 years or up to the age of 30.

[PRACE] Are you not afraid that the law on civilian service will be misused in the future?

[Vacek] The fact that we do not know how many young people will opt for the civilian service remains a big unknown for us. Also, we are facing the problem of resisting certain speculations on the part of those who, in principle, are not believers and nothing prevents them from serving in the Army but who will seek a way of avoiding military service by means of this new alternative service.

[PRACE] Who will be the "guarantor" of the civilian service?

[Vacek] This is not a concern of the Ministry of National Defense, but of the government, specifically of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which must solve these problems in cooperation with other ministerial departments, such as the Ministry of Health and others.... In this connection some important questions arise, however—for instance, how the civilian service will be treated for retirement purposes, etc.—which will have to be solved by further legislative norms, guidelines, etc., since those people will never be soldiers.

[PRACE] When will the new law be implemented?

[Vacek] Due to the fact that the law was discussed with approximately one month's delay, we are rather pressed for time. More recruits will begin their service on 1 April. The questions related to their civilian service will be solved by postponing their service until the next term so that everything can be solved peacefully and according to the law.

Daily SMER Loses Communist Party Affiliation

AU1603140690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "New Publisher for the Daily SMER"]

[Text] Yesterday's session of the Council of the Regional National Committee of Central Slovakia in Banska Bystrica decided that the Regional National Committee of Central Slovakia will become the political publisher of the former party daily SMER. Despite protests of the majority of the editorial staff, Ivan Baca, regional editor of ROLNICKE NOVINY, was put in charge of the editorial staff of SMER until a new registration is made. The decision was accepted with the proviso that the editor in chief be elected at the next session of the Council of the Regional National Committee of Central Slovakia.

Gysi Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

AU2003155690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 3

[ND report: "Gysi Congratulates President Gorbachev"]

[Text] East Berlin—Gregor Gysi, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] chairman, has sent cordial congratulations to Gorbachev on his election as USSR president. This election is a convincing vote of confidence for the policy of perestroyka, which has given new hopes to the people in the East and West. With this presidency, the PDS links the firm conviction that in the future, too, everything will be done to preserve and expand friendship and cooperation between our states and peoples.

Modrow Discusses Unification, Future

AU2003184790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 16 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Premier Hans Modrow by Thomas Leinkauf in Berlin; date not given: "I Lost the Habit of Reading the Coffee Grounds Quite Early"]

[Text] The sands of time for the Modrow government are running out. In a difficult time in November 1989, the cabinet accepted national responsibility. For about four months it has steered the damaged GDR ship around some sandbanks. How does the outgoing premier assess his term of government? BERLINER ZEITUNG spoke with Hans Modrow.

[Leinkauf] Mr. Modrow, four months ago you were elected premier by the People's Chamber. The GDR citizen, you said subsequently to journalists, must absorb the pride and the awareness of being a citizen of a sovereign state, of a socialist state. He must make his identity clear and visible. Then, however—and as a surprise to many—you professed support for the political concept of "Germany, united fatherland." Is it painful for a politician to let go of illusions?

[Modrow] Politicians are only human. One lives with ideals, has ideas about the future. Then one finds out after a while that not everything works, that realism is necessary in considering all the social processes and factors involved. I think that in the past few weeks we all have recognized—and some already knew this before—that the German nation continues to exist and that dual sovereignty can certainly not be the solution forever.

For this reason, I came to the conviction that it is right to take such an initiative. This has opened up new prospects for our country. Of course, this must be embedded in the all-European process. For us, for the Germans, it should take place in such a way that it points forward and, above all, guarantees peace for Europe.

This is very important for us, because only in peace will we be able to solve our own national problems. Europe, too, has prospects only in peace. We ourselves want to do everything so that the unification of the two German states will not be a burden to anyone, but will be a process that strengthens mutual trust. This, for its part, would offer secure prospects to us.

[Leinkauf] How do you explain the strong desire of GDR citizens for unification?

[Modrow] I think that there are several factors that play a role in this connection. However, at the same time, the issue is a bit exaggerated, I think. It can be seen that the trend toward level-headedness is increasing the closer we come to election day. By the way, this not only concerns us GDR citizens. Over the past weeks I have also received many letters from the FRG that are very similar.

In quite a few letters, I am asked to listen very closely to what I am told in Bonn. Do not believe every word, I am told, think about it thoroughly yourself. Of course, one cannot discuss private talks openly in public. But whether in Warsaw, Moscow, or Sofia—everywhere understanding could be felt and heard for the fact that the two German states will grow together because the Germans want this growing together. At the same time, it has been repeatedly stressed that prudence and a wise, gradual, and stage-by-stage approach is needed so that something that later turns out to be greater Germany is not cobbled together. I am thus for one fatherland, but not for a hurried fatherland.

[Leinkauf] What are, in short, the most important results of your government's work?

[Modrow] I think that one cannot discuss this briefly. One thing is particularly important for me. When we look back on the period of four months and consider our life today, one has to realize: Misfortune has been turned away from our people. We might have lived through different things over the past months.

However, because we ourselves started out on our path, I think we can say on the eve of the elections that democracy and democratic coexistence are beginning to develop in the country. When a government that consists of 13 parties—which is probably unique in Europe at present—accepts national responsibility in such a way that it finds recognition for its work among the people, this is, I think, an important result.

[Leinkauf] The Western side, but also some political forces in our country, accused you of having hesitated too much in setting the changes for a social market economy. What do you say to this?

[Modrow] This is a very one-sided view. Everyone who formulates criticism in this way would like a market economy without ifs and buts. However, from the very beginning I have tried to link the market economy with social characteristics. Obviously, some people do not like this.

Let us take the trade union law. This law did not develop somewhere, but developed in the trade union itself. It was discussed and confirmed at the trade union congress.

This is democracy. By the way, it is not the trade unions in the FRG that criticize our law. I think that the German Trade Union Federation would be happy if its chairman got the chance to substantiate such a trade union law in the Bundestag.

When we say that we favor a social market economy, then we should also say that we do not want a selfish society.

[Leinkauf] Over the past months, you have gotten to know a lot of new people and have worked with them. Who impressed you in particular?

[Modrow] You know, when I decided to go to the roundtable and to propose founding a government of national responsibility in which everyone should participate, I was rather anxious. Therefore, it was good that in the meantime we had gotten to know each other by working. In Peter Moreth, for instance, my deputy from the Liberal Democratic Party, I have found a friend.

On 18 February, I was in Bonn with government members from 13 parties. Minister Eppelmann told Chancellor Kohl that with our work in this government we had eliminated some enemy images. From what one hears and reads from the FRG and its media, there one often sticks to such old cliches. I was impressed by his frank words. Or take Dr. Ullmann, a man of the church, a historian, and also a bit of a jurist: At a news conference he publicly substantiated our statement on the preservation of property in the GDR, which I had previously explained in a letter to Gorbachev and Kohl. This also shows how trusting cooperation has developed in our government over a brief period.

For our last discussions in this cabinet on 15 March everybody wanted to come together for one of these well-known family pictures. This is also a sign of successful cooperation.

[Leinkauf] Together with Mr. Gysi you are thinking about the future role of the Party of Democratic Socialism in the opposition. This is what one could read. What are your ideas?

[Modrow] I do not want to anticipate later discussions. Perhaps one thing: I will have to go to a new school. So far we have had the unjustified claim, as I see it today, on setting down in a constitution who is to lead the society. Now we will have to think about this in terms of being the opposition. Above all, however, we will have to contribute many constructive ideas and proposals to serve the people. I also consider this my duty in the future.

[Leinkauf] Would you dare to make a forecast for the elections on 18 March?

[Modrow] In 1958 in West Berlin I ran for the Chamber of Deputies on the list of the Socialist Unity Party. At that time, we discussed all through the night whether we would manage to jump over the five-percent hurdle in at least one city district. In the end, we achieved 4.5 percent, and in my constituency only 3.7 percent. From this I drew the conclusion that I had better not read the coffee grounds.

Intra-German Trade Union Agreement Signed

AU2003155490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Mar 90 p 6

[ADN report: "Intra-German Trade Union Agreement"]

[Text] Stuttgart—The FRG Metal-Workers Trade Union and the GDR Printing and Paper Industrial Trade Union signed a cooperation agreement in Stuttgart on Thursday [15 March].

Both organizations want to develop cooperation between the representatives of interests in enterprises and want to support each other in labor conflicts.

Designated Economics Minister on Monetary Union

AU2003174590 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Mar 90 p 17

["hrk" report: "Pieroth To Become Economics Minister—But Only for a Short Period"]

[Excerpt] Designated GDR Economics Minister Elmar Pieroth, former senator in Berlin in the cabinets of Richard von Weizsaecker and Eberhard Diepgen, wants to stay in office "only for a short period." In an interview with DIE WELT shortly after the elections, he explained that this was due to the fact that decisions must be made very fast in the GDR now: "In the interest of everybody, we must keep the transition period as short as possible." Pieroth is not only in favor of a GDR Government with the participation of the Social Democratic Party, but is also in favor of a rapid pace concerning the creation of a monetary union. "It must be established very quickly," he emphasized. However, he did not want to confirm that this might already take place at Easter. "Easter may be celebrated earlier in some countries..."

Pieroth strictly supports the conversion of all "savings accumulated over many years" at a 1:1 rate. He stressed that "for wages and social benefits, one must even add something." Concerning the costs for unification, the future economics minister makes the following rough calculation: "Fifty billion deutsche marks [DM]—but only for two years. This amount will be required for initially financing the social systems in the GDR." These costs are considerably lower than the sums that the division has cost so far, Pieroth stressed. "Very closely calculated, the division costs a total of DM40 billion every year. This amount had to be paid for the past 45 years!"

In his view, one of the main reasons for the success of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR was that people "want both unity and a social market economy." The CDU is a synonym for both, Pieroth stated. [passage omitted]

Pieroth: Change to Capitalism Will Take 2 Years

PM2003145890 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Interview with Elmar Pieroth, introduced as the "new East German economics minister," by correspondent Olenka Frenkiel, part of a BBC 2 "Newsnight" report on the task of reviving East Germany's economy; place and date of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Frenkiel] Today, East German Enterprises, Limited, was born. At 0800 it's new finance director was on his way to Bonn head office, the source of all his capital. Elmar Pieroth, a West German businessman and former CDU [Christian Democratic Union] minister in Berlin is from today East Germany's new economics minister. His task: change socialism into capitalism. Never has a businessman had such an opportunity.

[Pieroth] I have to find one-half million people who are willing to be self-employed. We do not have these people that we have in all Western economies, and they will create 4 million new jobs, from repairing the houses to smaller shops and from restaurants to small industries.

When we will have a bigger economy—more efficient, so more freedom and more free enterprise—the cake we are all together producing will be much bigger then. The mystery of free enterprise is that people like to work, and they produce more. You can better split a bigger cake with more for everybody than to keep a cake small, what the socialists do: They take for themselves the better pieces and don't give something to the poor. We have a lot of experience to transfer free market economies in socialism, but we have not the experience from socialism to free market.

[Frenkiel] How can you motivate the people? They've been used to the right to work guaranteed to them without having to compete with each other. How can you motivate them now?

[Pieroth] To work in freedom is much more easier than they think when you do not have to ask too many bureaucracies, and it is more efficient and gives more personal fun. And you must only tell the people that they are the same Germans that we are and that they will have the same results when they have the same economic conditions. And I had many, many meetings: I am quite sure they will do it.

They are not other Germans than we, but they had a socialist system, and from yesterday night this system is finished. And all that what you call problems, these are changes, and my people will survive with these changes.

[Frenkiel] How soon will we see the economic miracle in East Germany?

[Pieroth] Within the next 24 months.

* Background of DSU Head Ebeling Outlined

90EG0213B Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 44 No 11, 12 Mar 90 pp 22-23

[Unattributed article: "Ever Loyal"]

[Text] "Don't look back now," said Pastor Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling at the founding congress of the German Social Union (DSU), beseeching his fellow party members. "Look ahead, where the future lies."

Ebeling, 56, chairman of the party that now has 40,000 members, has reasons for his fear of the past. The prospering DSU base of support must not know that the pastor with the gentle eyes staunchly followed the flag as an FDJ [Free German Youth] member only one year before his comprehensive examination in theology, that in the exhausted SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] state he managed to achieve considerable affluence, and that as recently as the summer of 1989 he was served up by Stasi officers as a model to a more rebellious professional colleague.

"Be reasonable," Pastor Michael Turek of St. Mark's in Leipzig was admonished, "take Pastor Ebeling as an example—there are never any problems with him." Amidst the "socialist garbage" (Ebeling), the easy-to-care-for pastor had created a comfortable niche for himself over the years. When he made the change—from pastor at St. Thomas' to fiery preacher against the "catastrophe of 40 years of communism"—with breath-taking speed in late 1989, both colleagues and comrades were amazed.

It is difficult to explain this transformation, says Walter Jakel, who with the Bezirk Council in Leipzig taught the pastor what the SED regime thought "political discipline" meant. Ebeling, he says, was the kind of person "who was a great sport, he always had a loyal attitude towards our political system."

In fact, the only contact was when Ebeling submitted a request. In 1987, it was for a video recorder, later an electronic typewriter, and in 1989 two Russian "Lada" cars. Everything was reportedly procured for Ebeling's congregation quickly, duty-free, and "in some cases in circumvention of applicable laws."

According to Jakel, St. Thomas'—famous for the St. Thomas Choir, timelessly ennobled by Bach—was given preferential support as a much-visited object of prestige; it was a fixed destination on the "protocol route" during state visits. Ebeling's ability to "always find a minimum consensus between state and church" proved helpful in this.

Lately, however, the nimble preacher of the DSU has met counterwinds from all sides in his home, Leipzig. "Ebeling, you're no Christian," announces a poster hanging outside the "Stadt Kiev" restaurant, a stone's throw away from St. Thomas', the fortunes of which have been guided by Ebeling as pastor since 1976. And Pastor Turek says that if Ebeling of all people is now being touted by the DSU as a protagonist of the peaceful

revolution in Leipzig, then the "heroic city" should immediately be renamed "Maulhelden [braggart] instead of Leipzig."

While prayers for peace were first said at St. Nicholas' in 1982 and the other churches in the center city gradually opened up to the protest movement as well, the venerable St. Thomas' remained closed off until 9 October, the date of the revolution. "Things were worst during the last weeks before that," recalls Karl-Heinz Boesel, who was sexton under Ebeling at St. Thomas' for 14 years. "That was when people were being chased around the church like dogs, there were beatings, but the church doors remained shut."

Ebeling ("I became a pastor to help people") missed few opportunities to demonstrate his loyalty to the regime. Only last August, he issued an ultimatum to three theology students at St. Thomas' who were on a hunger strike: They should leave the holy hall, the church not being a suitable stage for political action.

"It's true, the church building is a holy place for me, I asked the young people why they didn't occupy city hall," Ebeling says. "He was simply afraid that the motets and cantatas of the St. Thomas Choir would be disrupted," counters a young Christian, with bitterness. "That was no church, it was a music hall."

When the wave of protest in Leipzig's streets swelled in early October, when it was no longer a couple dozen, but rather 10,000 people moving through the center city, there was greater pressure on Ebeling to finally act. Christian Fuehrer, pastor at St. Nicholas', issued a written call for solidarity to his colleagues on 3 October.

But Ebeling continued to be coy, preferring instead to stage a memorable personality show at a dramatic convention of pastors in the Connewitz section of the city, on 5 October—four days before the "miracle of Leipzig." The idea by Land Bishop Johannes Hempel to call off the upcoming Monday prayers due to the threat of a massacre had already been rejected in short statements by several pastors when Ebeling stood up. Saying, "I am used to speaking before many people in the West, I want to see your eyes," he struck a pose before the assembly and dictated his conditions with great gestures. Ebeling said that he would open St. Thomas' only if all churches joined in, if Bishop Hempel himself preached, and if communion were served.

According to one participant, the pastors reacted with "open indignation at the presumptuous manner and the unacceptable conditions." Even Land Bishop Hempel was "appalled." The cynical strategy of Ebeling, applying the brakes: The presence of the bishop would sanction the event, and communion would further underscore the character of a "sacramental religious service" that is beyond political suspicion.

Under pressure from the St. Thomas' parish council, which forced a vote on 6 October, Ebeling gave in. On 9 October, when armored cars had long since entered the center city, he opened up the church portals—but not before he had had a giant Red Cross flag hung on the outside of the building and a first-aid station set up. Ebeling in front of open church doors, the flag of the Red Cross next to him—a photograph snapped up by the press. The myth of the heroic pastor was born.

In reality, Ebeling was "as slippery as an eel," says sexton Boesel. "Once, when he praised Brezhnev's disarmament proposals in his sermon, he told me beforehand, 'Look and see if the [Stasi] man for church issues is out there.'"

A "free-rider" is what Leipzig's alternative newspaper DAZ [DIE ANDERE ZEITUNG] calls Brother Ebeling, someone who has always managed to "reach an accommodation with the hated SED regime." According to information from a spokesman for the citizen's committee for dissolving the Stasi, it is certain that Ebeling, unlike most pastors in Leipzig, was not listed in any Stasi files as "requiring observation." Ebeling cannot understand it: "If there was anyone who told them their opinion, it was me."

It would not be the first time that the pastor from Parchim, Mecklenburg has suffered from memory lapses. The bloodily suppressed popular uprising of 17 June 1953, for example, which he experienced as a metalworker in Cottbus, was the "formative event" of his life, says Ebeling. Way back then, he decided "never again dictatorship." Nevertheless, eight years passed before the theology student, then 27, decided one year before his ordination to renounce loyalty to the SED's cadre reserve, the FDJ. When Ebeling was called directly from his first parish in the small town of Lieberose to St. Thomas' in Leipzig in 1976, he had practically achieved his goal. Antiques and stylish furniture in the rent-free manse on Dittrichring, a Fiat Mirafiori, and regular trips to the West made up for the otherwise gray reality in the city of workers and farmers, and for the ridiculous pastor's salary (GDR average: 600 to 850 marks a month).

But since he has advanced to the position of DSU chairman, the clergyman no longer sees anything "in this broken country" worth acquiring. If one looks more closely, however, some delightful object or another can clearly be found. In Thossfell, a town of 350 in Vogtland, for example, where Ebeling has a weekend house with a lake view on a gentle slope. A doctor friend, who shortly thereafter was granted permission to emigrate to the West, gave him the house and property, Ebeling says—"I have the deed of gift."

"That's right," confirms Thossfell Mayor Guenter Forner; the only thing that disconcerted him was the extremely low estimated value, 8,000 marks, less than one-third of the actual value. Because 8,000 marks falls in the lowest bracket for the gift tax, he registered his concern with the Kreis council. There he learned that "nothing can be done in this case."

Ebeling's next-door neighbors on the Poehl reservoir had to bow out forever in December—padlock on the gate, the door to the house sealed. The bungalow, separated from Ebeling's property only by a lattice fence, was revealed to be a Stasi base and was cleared out. The

mayor of neighboring Neuensalz notes "a total of eight Stasi sites in the scattered bungalows surrounding the old center of Thossfell."

Hans-Werner Ebeling has more important things to do than worry about the strange past of some of the neighbors at his second home. He is concerned with the short-term goal of "immediate German unity"; he is looking ahead, where the future lies. He has crossed the history of the "unfortunately still-existing GDR" off his list. Still, he concedes that "we will achieve the future only if we decisively disassociate ourselves from the upholders of this unhappy history."

3 Liberal Parties Agree to Form Alliance

LD2103034290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1051 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The parties united in the League of Free Democrats —the Liberal Democratic Party, the Free Democratic Party, and the German Forum Party—have agreed on a union as the Free Democratic Party-the Liberals. The Liberal-Democratic Party chairman, Dr. Rainer Ortleb, announced this today at an international news conference in Berlin.

Ministry Announces 14,500 Voters Abroad

AU2003155290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "14,500 GDR Citizens Vote Abroad"]

[Text] East Berlin—About 14,500 GDR citizens, who are working abroad between Tokyo and Beijing, Washington and Managua, want to participate in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. This was announced by the GDR Foreign Ministry on 15 March upon inquiry. In line with the election regulations, these citizens have applied for absentee ballots, which are required for voting. In addition to diplomats, this concerns, above all, construction workers, sailors, railroad workers, and students and their dependents in 37 countries.

ADN To Become Limited Liabilty Company

LD1603223690 Hamburg DPA in German 1537 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The previously state-owned GDR news agency ADN intends to transform itself into a joint stock company in the legal form of a limited liability company. As ADN Editor in Chief Mathias Wirzberger told DPA today, this decision in principle is to be put into effect by the agency management within the next few weeks.

According to Wirzberger, ADN is aiming for a structure similar to that of DPA. The owners are to be mainly the subscribers. Wirzberger said he could also imagine ADN having other shareholders beyond these. The government will, however, not be a shareholder. According to the ADN editor in chief, even now there is no longer state influence on the agency's work. [passage omitted]

Szuros Back From Talks With U.S. Congressmen

LD2103032190 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, returned from Washington on Sunday.

The interim head of state participated in a series of commemorative events at the invitation of the federation of Hungarians in America.

As part of the event, a Lajos Kossuth bust was unveiled in the US Congress on March 15.

During his visit, Mr Szuros met Thomas Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, Robert Dole, leader of the Senate's Republican group and Richard Gephardt, majority leader of Democratic Party group of the House of Representatives.

Soviet Military Aircraft Withdrawal Begins

LD2103091490 Budapest MTI in English 0003 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—The first military planes left Debrecen military airport on Tuesday morning. Brigadier General Aleksandr Gusev, air chief of the Soviet Southern Army Group, said within 48 hours after signing the agreement, the first Soviet unit left Hungary.

He stressed "we are worth our promise and comply with the requirements of the intergovernmental agreement, and will go on with the withdrawal according to the timetable."

The first day, five MiG planes and one AN-26 carrier plane left for the region of Lvov, about 500 kms far.

Brigadier General Gusev announced that the Debrecen air regiment was to do service in the north, where a base is being built for it. According to an unconfirmed MTI source, the regiment will be deployed in the vicinity of Murmansk in the service of the Soviet Navy Fleet.

The evacuation of the Soviet military airport in Debrecen will continue during the forthcoming weeks to be completed by May 25.

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Arrives for Talks

LD2103023490 Budapest MTI in English 2127 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—A Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitarian arrived in Hungary on Monday at the invitation of Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy. The Soviet delegation and its Hungarian partners are to survey the state of bilateral economic relations and the related tasks. The talks are to begin in the parliament building on March 20.

Disturbances Reported in Tirgu Mures, Romania

Street Battles 'Raging'

LD2003191790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1843 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The Bucharest correspondent of MTI reported a short while ago that in Tirgu Mures street battles are raging. In the course of the day the Magyar population demanded in a peaceful demonstration the investigation of yesterday's pogroms. It seems, however, that extremist Romanian elements, which were deployed yesterday, made their appearance once again, and in the main square they attacked the crowd with axes and pitchforks. The people are trying to defend themselves with smashed-up benches and other tools.

The Romanian deputy interior and defense ministers are also on their way to Tirgu Mures to take over the command of the local armed forces and thus try to curb passions. Listen to Otto Oltvanyi's telephone dispatch from Bucharest about the situation early this evening.

[Oltvanyi] According to the latest reports a dramatic situation has evolved in the streets of Tirgu Mures. I have received telephone calls asking for help and giving an account of a distressing situation. They report clashes, the final outcome of which is unforeseeable for the time being. As they report, blood is already flowing on the main square of Tirgu Mures. The ambulances are taking away the injured and the victims.

[Romanian President] Iliescu has stated on Romanian Television: Everything must be done to resolve the situation that has evolved, because tension and suspicion do not serve the interests either of Romanians or Hungarians.

Romania's leading politician has expressed his regret over the fact that last night the local organs were unable to curb the extremist elements. The action directed by the nationalist organization Vatra Romanesca resulted in over 30 injured and tempers have not yet calmed down.

Army Forms 'Human Wall'

LD2003192190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1843 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] I have another item of information, which I have received from Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, that the situation at the moment in Tirgu Mures is that the Army is standing in the center of the square, the Romanians are on one side, while the Magyars are on the other side. Between them, like a human wall, is the Army.

Events Described

LD2003193490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] At 1700 Hungarian time [1600 GMT], our program editor Gabor Bankuti spoke by telephone with the head of Tirgu Mures radio.

[Begin recording] [Bankuti] Dear Sandor Gaspar, although the line is not entirely clear, I would like you to tell me what the situation is like now in Tirgu Mures.

[Gaspar] It went very nicely this morning. The Magyardom marched in concert, spontaneously, to the main square. They demanded that those who organized, caused yesterday's disturbances should be brought to light, punished. Apart from this they demanded the city's leaders resign, that they be relieved, since these events took place due to their incompetence.

At noon the crowd waited calmly for the visit by the Bucharest leadership, which had been promised in accordance with their demand. The report spread that Karoly Kiraly and Ion Iliescu would come to Tirgu Mures. Since then, it has emerged that this is not possible. Nonetheless, the crowd decided to stand its ground.

In the meantime, the number of those shouting Vatra slogans increased. At the moment, the numbers in the two crowds are generally the same. The tension is increasing in the city's main square. It is not known what will happen in a few minutes' time, perhaps within an hour.

There are frightening reports. At the moment, I have not been able to register any fact to verify that violent acts really took place.

[Bankuti] Is there any preparedness on the part of the military, the police, to prevent a repetition of yesterday's events?

[Gaspar] They have stepped up the guard of the studio of Tirgu Mures radio. To my knowledge, the police is in a state of preparedness elsewhere, too. On the streets, many policemen can be seen among the demonstrators. Naturally, they are standing calmly, since at the moment there is no cause for them to intervene.

[Bankuti] Perhaps you know, the news has reached you, that on Heroes' Square in Budapest, every Hungarian party is holding a demonstration, because of the events yesterday.

[Gaspar] Unfortunately this is the first time I have heard this. True, I have not had the time to watch other information channels.

[Bankuti] Then allow me to say that the Hungarian foreign minister has appealed to the UN and to the Security Council on this matter, asking for assistance so that this situation should not deteriorate.

[Gaspar] We thank you very much. We hope there will be no need for serious intervention.

[Bankuti] The Hungarian premier has asked the Romanian Government for an official explanation about what happened.

[Gaspar] Yes, I heard of this. I spoke about this with Karoly Kiraly. At the moment he is in Bucharest. We have recorded his speech on the telephone; he cautions the participants in the demonstration to be calm and politically levelheaded. To put it in straightforward terms he called on the people to go home, but no one took his advice. [end recording]

60 Reported Injured

LD2003230590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Gabor Bankuti telephoned in the afternoon. In the evening he telephoned Sandor Gaspar, head of the Hungarian Section of Tirgu Mures Radio, and asked him to tell what happened today.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Gaspar] People clashed, the timed and especially targeted buses carrying people armed with axes and clubs arrived. At this stage—according to our latest information—60 people have been registered injured and one dead. This was said directly to me by the head surgeon of the hospital.

[Bankuti] Are these injured people Hungarian or mixed?

[Gaspar] Mixed. I have seen makeshift barricades everywhere around the town hall, everyone is carrying something he wants to call a weapon. It is obvious that this arming took the Hungarian masses, as well as the majority of the city's Romanians, completely by surprise. The villagers came armed.

[Bankuti] Who could have organized it?

[Gaspar] I cannot say. I have spoken personally to Major General Ion Scriechue, the first vice chairman of the country, shall we say the first deputy to Karoly Kiraly, who said that he had no idea. He certainly did not invite these people. As an explanation, a possibility, he seemed to have been saying that probably these people who came on buses all have relatives in the town here. It must have been these relatives who told them things were taking place which they did not like and for this reason they came and would help. After all, [the major general said] I know what a village is like.

Of course, it is difficult to accept this explanation in view of the fact that from three different directions, from villages 40-50 km away from the town, 8, 10, 15 autobuses have arrived. It is difficult to make this acceptable by references to such simple calls by relatives. Naturally, an official investigation will establish who can be held to account and how this can be done. [passage omitted]

The police, or in a given situation the Army, as a supplement, or the National Guard could all have been

organized and mobilized. At the time of the revolution, the patriotic guards stood their ground brilliantly. We feel that here some kind of very mysterious thing is taking place. Those who could act, act very slowly, bureaucratically, or practically not at all. [passage omitted]

Opinions have been voiced saying that if Ion Iliescu goes on television, and personally calls on the participants to maintain quiet and go home, then perhaps they will go home. [end recording]

Later Report: 2 Killed, 169 Injured

LD2103085990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] There was an early morning calm in Tirgu Mures after the anti-Magyar pogrom that was not curbed until late evening. There were two deaths in the evening disturbances. At the same time, according to reports Ferenc Szucs, who was knifed on 15 March, died in Satu Mare from his injuries. From Bucharest, Otto Oltvanyi gives an early morning roundup on the Tirgu Mures events:

[Oltvanyi] The streets became quiet in Tirgu Mures by midnight. Magyar groups in the city pushed the demonstrators who had been brought in from the nearby Romanian villages by the Vatra Romaneasca organization away from the main square, and forced them to move back. Some streets were firmly in the hands of the people of the city, and only by detour were the Vatra groups able to reach their transport vehicles, one of which had been rendered unusable.

At dawn, there was a tallying up in the city hospital: Two were killed and 169 injured in yesterday's clash; and 39 of them are in serious condition. After midnight, only small groups frequented the city's residential districts. The night did not pass peacefully in the (Tudor) residential district, where there were reports of windows being smashed. There was calm in the remaining parts of the city, and in several places military patrols were seen, with tanks on the main square.

Today's papers publish the statement of the Mures County committee of the National Unity Council, which urges that those responsible for the violent and destructive actions in Tirgu Mures be identified.

Romanian Reports Said One-Sided

LD2003235790 Budapest MTI in English 2328 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Reported by Otto Oltvanyi, MTI's Bucharest correspondent"]

[Text] Bucharest, March 20 (MTI)—During the late night hours, nationalist and chauvinist groups were patrolling the streets of Tirgu Mures, armed with axes and iron rods.

There were several clashes causing a number of casualties. Although the police and armed forces did not intervene, reinforced military units were summoned to the centre of the town.

The Romanian media have reported on the events onesidedly. They have accused the Hungarian nationality with having celebrated March 15—a holiday Vatra Romaneasca regards as an anti-Romanian anniversary—in a provocative manner. The officially manipulated statements try to present the events as the consequence of the Hungarian community's benaviour.

Romanian Students Hold Demonstrations

LD2003234990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] There have been student demonstrations in Romania, initiated by the extremist anti-Magyar organization, Vatra Romaneasca, at the larger universities. Bucharest television reported that the participants in the demonstrations accused the Magyar medical students in Tirgu Mures, who are staging a sit-down strike in the interests of the restoration of mother-tongue teaching, of separatism.

There were similar demonstrations in Iasi, Craiova, and Ploiesti.

Romanian Party Urges Expulsion of Hungarians

LD2103093190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Romanians and Magyars are again gathering in Tirgu Mures, REUTER news agency has reported in an urgent dispatch. The crowd is shouting various slogans. According to an eyewitness report, the city center resembles a battlefield, where burned-out cars and shops can be seen. According to a report from Bucharest radio, six died and 300 were injured in yesterday's clashes in Tirgu Mures.

According to the Romanian leadership, there were anti-Magyar demonstrations in other towns of Transylvania, but details are not yet known. The government at any event has appealed for calm, and promised that it will try to remedy the causes which gave rise to the events.

By the way, the Romanian press is reporting on the Tirgu Mures developments in an extremely one-sided manner, finding fault with the Magyars. According to the Romanian National Peasants' Party, in the city several Hungarians are fighting on the side of the Magyars in Romania; for this reason, the party has demanded the immediate expulsion of all Hungarian citizens from Romania.

Reaction to, Protests on Tirgu Mures Events

Szuros Expresses 'Outrage'

LD2003224990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Remarks by Interim President Matyas Szuros to journalists in Szolnok; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] What is taking place in Romania is a shameful thing. There has been no revolution in Romania. The first mistake regarding the evaluation [of Romanian events in December] began at this point by many people—even in Hungary.

I considered it an incredibly great thing that in a magnanimous, unselfish way the Hungarian people rushed to help Romania at Christmas. I had no illusions even then—to tell you the truth. [passage omitted]

I receive with great outrage the things which are happening in Romania now. There is a need to make a clean breast of the issue. If Lancranjan [Romanian historian-writer] and Ilie Ceausescu were allowed to write and it is possible to state that Transylvania is an ancient Romanian land, then we Hungarians can state with equal justification that Translyvania is ancient Magyar land.

It is not at issue that we now want to repossess it, to claim it back, but we have the right to demand the ensurance of the individual and collective rights for the Hungarians as a nationality. We must do everything in the interest of the Magyardom abroad, beyond our borders.

Nemeth Speaks on 'Tragic Events'

LD2003141990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The series of events in Romania has been discussed in Parliament Building, Budapest, at the press briefing of the National Council for Religious Affairs. Erika Gulyas reports.

[Gulyas] The Hungarian Government, guided by responsibility for the nation's fate, is informing the human rights' committee and the UN secretary general, about the Tirgu Mures events, with the request that they should help to localize the tragic events, so that an acute crisis entailing unforeseeable consequences should not develop. In this, it is waiting for information from the Romanian Government about the tragic events in Tirgu Mures. It expects that those who disturbed the peace will be called to account, Premier Miklos Nemeth said at the session of the National Council for Religious Affairs. He also announced that the government has sent a special plane with doctors and appropriate hospital staff to Bucharest, to examine Andras Suto, who has been transported there; and if his condition allows, he will be transported to Budapest.

The premier in his introduction thanked the church leaders for their responsible conduct in the months of transition, and for their organizing activity.

The members of the Council for Religious Affairs then heard a briefing from Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar in which he said that the draft law to regulate the return of real estate once owned by the churches has been completed. However, parliament did not discuss this at its final session. This will be a task of the new National Assembly. However, by virtue of its mere existence the draft law prevents the selling of this real estate.

The church leaders who spoke also voiced their pessimism, because as they said, the talks have been very courteous so far, but have not led to many results, since public institutions operate in most former church buildings, and it is nearly impossible to find new locations for them.

Nemeth Writes Romanian Leader

LD2003202190 Budapest MTI in English 1913 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has addressed a message to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, forwarded by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn to the Romanian ambassador to Hungary, whom he summoned to the ministry on Tuesday. Here follows the full text of the message:

"The Hungarian public opinion and leadership have been shocked by the news of the explicitly anti-Hungarian atrocities taking place during the past few days in Romania.

I am sorry to say that in the wake of the December turning-point, the relationship of the Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority has not moved in the direction of reconciliation but in that of confrontation in some quarters of Romania. It is depressing that the assertion of the individual and collective rights of minorities bumps more and more often into the resistance of the Romanians incited by aggressive and chauvinist forces.

We have tried on several occasions to draw the Romanian leadership's attention to the growing threat of nationalism, with a request to do their utmost to prevent these extremely bad signs unfolding. To our deepest regret, the Romanian leadership seems—despite official statements—to subordinate the Hungarian issue to the internal power struggle, making unacceptable concessions to forces of explicit racial discrimination.

During the commemorative events of the greatest Hungarian national holiday March 15, there were several

disturbances including the desecration of national symbols which have severely offended Hungarian sentiments. We were deeply outraged by the news of pogrom-like anti-Hungarian action in Tirgu Mures on March 19 going against all human decency and any civilized standard.

We want to make a definite protest against the ransacking of the headquarters of the Hungarians' organization in Tirgu Mures and the violence of the world-famous writer Andras Suto because of the passivity of the police.

We should like to make the emphatic request that in compliance with the United Nations Charter and other international agreements Romania has also joined, the Romanian authorities take action against the inciting organizations, including the infamous Vatra Romaneasca which promotes fascistic notions. The lack of efficient counteraction will entail unforeseeable consequences, with the sole responsibility to be taken by the Romanian side.

Hungary is greatly concerned over the rise of national ungenerosity [as received], gradually removing Romanian society from the chance of democratic advance and incurring great damage not only for the minorities but the Romanians themselves.

I should like to assure you that the Government of the Republic of Hungary will remain unchanged in its intention to bring about settlement in Hungarian-Romanian relations, a national reconciliation and the full provision of safeguards for Hungarians' and Romanians' democratic rights."

Horn Interviewed on Unrest

LD2003132190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Istvan Kulcsar in Budapest on 20 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister, this morning summoned Romania's ambassador in Budapest. Istvan Kulcsar spoke with the head of Hungarian diplomacy after the meeting.

[Kulcsar] Romanian Ambassador Simion Pop has just left Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. As far as I know, Mr. Minister summoned him. What did you tell him?

[Horn] I mentioned the grave incidents in Tirgu Mures [Marosvasarhely] and other, similar, pogrom-like phenomena. I emphasized that these were events that did not lack precedent, as similar things happened on 15 March and before then. I expressed our profound concern, and I simultaneously conveyed the verbal message from Premier Miklos Nemeth to Romanian Premier Petre Roman, in which we ask that they, without delay, intervene against the nationalist excesses—grave atrocities—because, as is known, the police and the military in Tirgu Mures have watched passively during the deterioration of matters. The authorities and the leadership must intervene without delay before this spreads further.

If there has been mention of the pogrom, allow me to say that as is known Andras Suto was seriously injured. At this moment he is in the Bucharest central military hospital. It appears that an operation is unavoidable. Together with the Ministry of Defense, we have organized the dispatch of a special plane, with doctors and medical equipment, and if Andras Suto can be transported, he will be brought to Budapest.

Apart from this, this morning I appealed in a personal message to United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, as well as to Martensen, head of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, calling their attention to this grave situation, and I asked them to mediate without delay. Romania, just like Hungary, is a member of the United Nations. It has undertaken very important international obligations in the interests of safeguarding human rights and thus minorities. Therefore the United Nations cannot watch this passively.

I am also appealing in a message to the other 34 member states of the Vienna follow-up conference, since the document of the conference not only stipulates—as an obligation of the participating nations—that they give information on every such event, it also authorizes the countries to demand immediate measures and appeal to all participants if such events do take place. This has happened. I would like to add that already during the night we initiated contact with the Romanian leadership, because if it does not take action immediately and effectively a very grave situation could develop.

[Kulcsar] What reply have you received from Bucharest, Mr. Minister?

[Horn] Unfortunately, our ambassador has not been able to make contact with either Iliescu or the other Romanian leaders. This morning, however, they met in the hospital, at the bedside of Andras Suto, where the president expressed his profound regret. At the same time, our ambassador demanded that the leadership, the authorities, should immediately intervene.

I would like to say that we invariably advocate that the Romanian-Hungarian relationship be placed on a new basis, but we are extremely concerned over the reviving nationalist phenomena. I will add another thing: In our view, operating in the background are the people who survived from the time of the Ceausescu dictatorship, and we are experiencing a tendency in Romania on the part of serious parties or extremist, indeed fascist, organizations, who want to make use of this current, confused situation for their own objectives. I have to say that in my view, all that is happening there gravely harms not only the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, and the interests of Magyardom in Transylvania, but it also gravely harms Romania's democratic prospects. So it is

the interests of the Romanian leadership to take effective action against these, and not only to voice promises and regret.

[Announcer] By the way, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has also sent his message to the chairman of the United Nations Security Council.

Horn Sends Message to UN

LD2003202290 Budapest MTI in English 1638 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has sent an urgent personal message to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations, 'Abdallah Salih al-Astal the current president of the UN Security Council, and Jan Martenson, assistant secretary-general and leader of the Geneva Human Rights Centre.

On the basis of the UN Charter, the Hungarian foreign minister held it justified and necessary to voice his profound anxiety on behalf of the Hungarian Government over the serious atrocities committed against ethnic Hungarians in Romania over the past few days.

Mr Horn provided the leaders of the world organization with detailed information about the unparallelled, dangerous scale the human rights violations of the Hungarians living in Romania have taken on: these include their right to life and personal freedom.

The Hungarian foreign minister gave a statement to MTI about the matter on Tuesday morning.

As he obtained information about the events in Tirgu Mures, Mr Horn asked the Hungarian ambassador to Romania to contact the Romanian leaders, President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman (the foreign minister was out of reach since he was staying in Namibia and did not even accept an invitation for the Budapest meeting of Hungarian and Romanian professionals.)

The ambassador, however, failed to contact the Romanian leaders. For this reason, the Hungarian foreign minister summoned the Romanian ambassador to his office and presented to him the verbal message Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth addressed to Premier Petre Roman. In the message, the Hungarian prime minister expressed deep anxiety over the recent events and asked the Romanian leadership to take immediate action so as to prevent further bloodshed, excesses and pogroms since the police and the army stood by and did nothing to stop the ravage and thus encouraged the extremist, nationalist forces.

Mr Horn informed the ambassador that on Tuesday morning he had sent a message to the secretary-general of the United Nations, the president of the UN Security Council, and the leader of the Geneva Human Rights Centre. In the message, he called attention to the fact that the Romanian authorities stood by the violent actions which had been launched by otherwise legal Romanian organizations against the Hungarian minority and had claimed several serious injuries. The demand for driving the Hungarians out of Transylvania is the most repulsive manifestation of the Romanian nationalist wave ignoring the norms of civilization.

The Hungarians foreign minister asked for immediate UN mediation so as to restore normal conditions. The message declares that the Hungarian side does not wish to interfere with Romania's internal affairs but cannot look on the grave violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the minority rights laid down in international documents, with folded arms. The international community should render assistance in curbing the Romanian nationalist actions violating the principles of the UN Charter, yet before the situation further aggravates in the areas inhabited by Hungarians. The Hungarian Government asked the United Nations to make an efficient contribution to this effort, and the commission on human rights to send a special delegation to examine the situation in Romania.

The Hungarian foreign minister pointed out to the Romanian ambassador that the tragic events in Tirgu Mures are not without antecedents, as nationalistic manifestations have for a long time been increasing with the emergence of movements and parties that advocate pan-Romanian nationalism.

It is also common knowledge that these elements wanted to prevent the celebration of March 15 at several places in Romania showing threatening behaviour to Hungarians. This all points to these phenomena being not isolated but signs of an ever increasing nationalist wave.

This is very harmful for Hungarian-Romanian relations and is jeopardizing the assertion of the rights, and even existence, of the Hungarian community in Romania. And that these nationalist forces want to drive the Hungarians out of their own homeland is totally unacceptable.

Mr Horn also told MTI that during the day he would send a message calling on the foreign ministers of the 34 countries that signed the document of the Vienna follow-up conference in January to protest against the Romanian events.

Finally, the foreign minister said Hungary had initiated the current Hungarian-Romanian dialogue between professionals exactly in order to throw a light on the past through reasoning and arguments and to ease the tensions between the two countries.

During this meeting, the Hungarian side also emphasized that the Romanian nationalistic excesses had been doing a lot of damage to Romania by preventing democratic transformation.

MSZP News Conference on Romania, Elections

LD2003234290 Budapest MTI in English 2158 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)[MSZP] calls on the Romanian authorities to take immediate and definite action to investigate the anti-Hungarian violent events that have taken place in Tirgu Mures, and punish the offenders and inciters. The HSP says at the moment the chances are still there to stem the rising tide of violence between the nationalities in Transylvania, which might lead to a domestic war.

This is part of what was said at a press briefing held by the HSP in Budapest on Tuesday.

Party President Rezso Nyers feels optimistic about the HSP's election chances. He would not be disappointed even by a 10 per cent rate but expects a higher percentage to vote for the HSP.

Referring to a statement by the HDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum—MDF] president, he also admitted a HSP and HDF coalition was not likely, but did not say it was impossible.

Mr Nyers considers the Alliance of Free Democrats the best organized Hungarian party with its organization almost rivalling that of a Stalinist-type party. Although not exactly a winner of the referendum, the AFD [SZDSZ] managed to stop the procedure layed down in the constitutional script.

It was also said at the briefing that should the HSP meet even one single case of a person being suspended from his post as a result of political discrimination after the elections, it would appeal to the Constitutional Court, and if not successful, to the Geneva Committee of Human Rights and the expert committee of the International Labour Organization.

Horn Addresses Hungarian-Romanian Conference

LD2103040190 Budapest MTI in English 1333 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—The Hungaro-Romanian professional conference which opened in Budapest on Monday was first addressed by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, patron of the event.

Horn pointed out the present European situation gave Hungary and Romania a chance to place their relationship on a new basis, a historic opportunity which should be grasped by both countries.

He said it was indispensable for the two countries to face up to the past and draw the necessary lessons in the interest of reconciliation and laying the foundations of cooperation.

Hungary warmly welcomed the news of the Romanian revolution last Christmas, and was the first to recognize the new leadership.

This was also evidence of the fact that the Hungarian people do not harbour bad feelings towards the Romanians: Hatred was systematically nurtured by the anachronistic political power.

Now, however, the time has come for placing the relationship between Hungary and Romania on a new basis, Horn said.

Hungary is interested in a democratic, stable Romania, the Romania which will come about if it relies on European traditions and values, for only such a democratic state is able to guarantee the rights of the Hungarian and other minorities.

The foreign minister also mentioned some points where Hungary felt let down in its expectations about the Romanian revolution. He complained of slow progress in settling Hungaro-Romanian relations and continued attempts by certain officials of the ousted dictatorship to retain elements of the anti-Hungarian policy.

It is in everybody's interest, Horn said, that there be no gap between declared political intentions and actual measures.

Following Horn's contribution, participants elected an editorial committee to draft a joint communique on the conference.

Conference Communique Drafted

LD2103091190 Budapest MTI in English 0011 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—The two-day Hungarian-Romanian meeting drew to an end on Tuesday night [20 March].

The participants drafted a joint statement recording the tasks the intellectuals in the two countries had undertaken to advocate Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation.

The document lists recommendations for the assertion of the rights of the Hungarian community in Romania.

The communique is to be published on Wednesday.

FRG's Kohl Interviewed on Ties, Current Issues

LD2103093990 Budapest MTI in English 0823 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn, March 21 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, gave an interview to Istvan Flesch, MTI's Bonn correspondent, and to the correspondent of the daily MAGYAR NEMZET.

In answer to a question, Mr Kohl said the FRG has provided financial assistance to Hungary on several occasions since 1987. "The FRG took a sucessful stand

in the interest that Hungary be closely linked to the European communities. We also supported other central, eastern and south-eastern European countries, and we shall continue to do so.

"Understandably, we shall not forget, even in the reunified Germany, the fact that Hungary chipped away the first brick from the wall. The dramatic changes could not have come about, and the GDR could not have found itself, without the brave and firm decision of the Hungarian Government, with which it allowed our German compatriots to leave the country. We took a stand that the European communities remain open towards the central, eastern and south- eastern European reform states."

Answering a question on German unification, Mr Kohl said the anxieties are unjustified. Some people are worried about the future situation of the unified Germany. "But we should adjust to the facts: In the more than 40 years of its existence, the Federal Republic of Germany has proven to be a firm, liberal, democratic and social law-governed state... We shall continue to stand by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the community of liberal democracies. Any sort of consideration for neutrality would be unacceptable not only for us, but would also endanger stability in Europe."

What is your opinion about Hungary? was the next question. Mr Kohl said Hungary has every reason to be proud of its political reform path, and should be optimistic about the future. "Hungary is returning to European freedom and democracy, so that it be able to take its original place there.... The success of the Hungarian reform process will continue to be determining with respect to the reform processes launched in other parts of Europe, and it is the profit of all Europe."

In answer to another question, Mr Kohl said that the FRG Government will continue to support Hungary on the road of reforms. "The Hungarian Government, by taking a stand for market economy and an opening towards the world economy, has created the firm frameworks with its decision. With its agreement concluded with the International Monetary Fund, Hungary has set down the conditions for stronger integration into world economy.

"The Hungarian Government to come about after the free elections will also need courage and strength to consistently and firmly progress on the road begun. Success will not be long in coming," said Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the interview.

Finance Minister Meets Japanese Officials

LD2103045990 Budapest MTI in English 2223 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Tokyo, March 19 (MTI)—Hungarian Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi received a promise in Tokyo for accelerating Japanese capital investments in Hungary. Due to the IMF agreement, in the first half of 1990 the new government may count on some 1,500 million dollars, including the Japanese credits, Mr Bekesi said.

In the middle of April, a 70-member delegation headed by President Kisaburo Ikeura of the Japanese Industrial Bank will come to Hungary to explore investment opportunities.

Mr Bekesi held talks with Yohei Kono, president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Liberal-Democratic party and president of the Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Society, and Saburo Okita, former foreign minister and member of the international advisory body to the Hungarian Government. Mr Bekesi gave an interview to ASAHI SHIMBUN. In reply to a question on the forthcoming elections, the minister said he did not expect any change in the country's economic policy since the Hungarian Socialist Party had for long been pursuing a reform policy. Changes in the budgetary policy, however, will be unavoidable, the Hungarian finance minister said.

Airport Security Increased After Islamic Threat

LD2103090190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Unprecedented security measures have been implemented at Ferihegy Airport in Budapest. This was necessary because the extremist organisation called Islamic Holy War for the Liberation of Palestine last week threatened the airlines transporting Soviet Jews to Israel. Competent sources in the Hungarian Interior Ministry have said that there is no cause for panic, because they are prepared to avert possible terrorist actions.

National Bank President on IMF Credit, Economy

LD2103035390 Budapest MTI in English 1221 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 19, 1990 (MTI-Econews)—Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH], has described the IMF's Board of Directors' decision on Wednesday [14 March] to grant Hungary a standby credit of 206 million USD [U.S. dollars] (159.21 million SDR [special drawing rights]) for this year as being of outstanding importance from the point of view of Hungary's future borrowing opportunities.

The new loan brings Hungary's debts to the IMF to 171.61 million SDR, while its quota is 530.7 million SDR (about 688 million USD).

Ferenc Bartha explained that Hungary will have access to the standby credit in quarterly tranches of 40 million SDR (over 50 million USD). However, before each tranche is taken out, the IMF is to survey the Hungarian economy, with special regard to foreign debt figures, money supply, financial reserves and budget deficit.

Hungary will be entitled to take out the first tranche of 40 million SDR this week, Mr Bartha said.

In addition to this, the first 400 million USD tranche of the 1 billion USD credit granted by the EC will be available later in March. Representatives of the EC and the National Bank of Hungary are expected to sign the agreement on March 22 or 23, following the EC monetary committee's decision to be passed on March 20.

The remaining part of the 1 billion USD loan is likely to be paid out to Hungary in two tranches of 300 million USD by the end of 1991. Hungary will have to use the EC credit primarily to raise Hungary's international reserves, the NBH president said.

However, Mr Bartha stressed that the new government to be formed after the elections will have to comply with major elements of the government's programme passed by parliament in December, the three main ones being (I) that the budget deficit may not exceed 10 billion forints, (II) that the convertible current account deficit may not top 550 million USD, and (III) that Hungary's rouble export surplus (an equivalent of 800 million USD last year) be reduced to zero by the end of the year.

In order to satisfy the above economic conditions, the new government will have to work out a medium-term programme to develop the Hungarian economy, build up the market system and establish balanced international economic links, Mr Bartha added.

Nemeth Signs Agreements With Church Leaders

LD2103035890 Budapest MTI in English 1226 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met dignitaries from four Hungarian churches and denominations in the parliament building, Budapest, on Monday.

At the meetings, which took place in succession, agreements were signed on abrogating the 1948 treaties between the Government of the Republic of Hungary and and the Reformed, Evengelic and Unitarian Churches, as well as the Jewish religious community, now that the law on the freedom of conscience and religion is in force.

Gyula Horn Speaks at MSZP Rally in Mor

LD2103031190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] We are reporting from Mor, [in western Hungary] where, among others, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn spoke at a Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] rally.

[Unidentified reporter] Even today, 20 percent of the population of Mor is of German nationality. So it is not suprising that Gyula Horn's greatest success is with the announcement that within days visa requirements between the FRG and Hungary will be abolished. At the same time he said he was disappointed that at yesterday's discussions in Prague he was left alone with his suggestion that there should be no tightening of travel regulations since this would be a politically retrogressive step. He noted that in his opinion a change in power does not always mean political change as well. He talked about the awakening nationalism, and also about the need to take responsibility for our fellow Hungarians who live outside the borders of our country, and well as for minorities living in our country.

At the end of his speech, he criticized the media. He brought up as an example the interpretation of Miklos Nemeth's speech yesterday. He asked Nemeth on the phone what had happened, and he explained that out of his statement of: I have never been a faithful, orthodox communist; in a media report what remained was: I have never been a communist.

* Complexity of Election Process Described

* Voting System Explained

25000666 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Feb 90 p 4

[Lajos Bodnar article: "Election Digest: the 'Reverse Flow' of Votes"]

[Text] Many are pondering the future election results and would like to see more clearly into the complex details of counting votes. How many votes are needed to acquire a mandate in individual voting districts, and how many are needed with respect to party slates? How and which parties may receive the so-called fractional votes?

The Hungarian election model, built on a peculiar combination of voting for individuals and for slates, also provides some homework assignments in regard to the rules on counting votes. The interpretation of individual, detailed rules presents concerns not only for laymen, but also for professionals. It was no coincidence, then, that the National Elections Office convened a conference the other day for activists participating in the workings of election organs.

In the March elections each voter will have two votes to cast. Correspondingly, each voter will receive two ballot forms at the polls. One ballot form will be used to cast a vote for one of the individual candidates in the district, the other will convey a vote cast for party slates.

Throughout the world, many different models have been established for elections based on multiparty systems. The solution adopted in Hungary attempts to combine the advantages that flow from slate voting tied to the existence of parties, with the advantages of an individual election district system, without permitting fractional votes to get lost. In short, we could call the latter process

the method of "reverse flow," if the highly regarded public law dictionary did not lack this ordinary expression.

A representative is elected if he receives more than half of the valid votes, assuming that more than half of the eligible voters took part in the elections. Accordingly, if one candidate receives 51 percent of the vote, the second candidate receiving 49 percent of the vote may take his hat and leave. The election law is frequently criticized by advocates of proportionate representation. There are countries where the fact that a candidate receiving a majority of the votes would represent all residents of a district is considered natural, and causes no headaches. On the other hand, in Hungary they try to correct "injustices" stemming from a simple majority vote in several ways.

The contradiction is blunted by the fact that parties running on regional slates may acquire an additional 152 mandates in proportion to the votes cast. Thus, those who lose in individual voting districts may indemnify themselves to a certain extent.

In addition, fractional votes are also tallied at the national scale, so that the parties may share those votes once again. The law provides that at least 58 mandates are decided on the basis of fractional votes.

What does the law regard as a fractional vote? These are votes cast in individual voting districts for party candidates who fail to acquire a mandate in any round of elections. Fractional votes in regional voting districts are votes which are proven to fall short of being able to acquire a mandate. After some rather complicated calculations, these votes are poured back into the central data bank, and the mandates resulting from the national lists are distributed among the parties consistent with the ratio of votes cast for each party.

* Additional Hurdles

25000666 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Feb 90 p 5

[Lajos Bodnar article: "Election Digest: This is How You Can Vote For Your Choice"]

[Excerpts] "How can I vote for Pozsgay," one of our readers from Zuglo [Budapest district] inquired over the telephone, indicating that the deadline for collecting nominating slips is approaching. And this inquirer is not the only one who has decided in the final days of the nominating campaign to take advantage of his rights and hand over the nominating slip for the candidate who enjoys his confidence.... Aware of the election law, we could reassure our reader from Zuglo only in part. That is, the reader will not be able to directly support Imre Pozsgay with his nominating slip from Budapest. Pozsgay is running for the National Assembly in Sopron. Pursuant to the law, such support may be provided during the nominating period only by voters in Sopron who live in the individual voting district where Pozsgay is running for election. This is an obvious rule: Only those who will subsequently vote for a candidate should nominate him.

But our reader from Zuglo need not surrender from the outset the idea of supporting Imre Pozsgay with his nominating slip. He can do so by inserting on the nominating slip the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] candidate in Zuglo, and by voting for that person in the elections.

From the standpoint of parties, be that the MSZP, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], or the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], every vote is extremely high in value.

This is true in individual voting districts because such votes first elevate candidates for representatives to an official rank, and then they place such candidates in Parliament. But each vote should be cherished because in this election the "losing" votes can also acquire mandates. One of the peculiar features of the election law is that votes not acquiring mandates locally will be tallied nationally, and about 60 mandates will be distributed among the parties' candidates running on the national slate in proportion to the votes acquired. [passage omitted]

But parenthetically we should note that in the final tally, the parties cannot automatically regard votes cast for candidates as their own. The condition for claiming such votes is that the candidate for representative received 750 nominating slips which include both the name of a candidate and the party which supports that candidate. In other words, one could have collected 2,000 instead of the needed 750 nominating slips in vain, if the supporting party's name was written in on only 749 nominating slips. Such a candidate cannot be regarded as a party's candidate. He may win, of course, as an independent candidate, but he cannot receive votes or mandates for his party on the national slate. Accordingly, viewed from this vantage point, the citizen "votes" to a certain extent with the nominating slip. And in this way a voter may also strengthen the mandate of a candidate running in Sopron.

Alliance of Free Democrats Elaborates Platform

LD2103044790 Budapest MTI in English 1914 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 19 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] has 20,000 members, twice as many as it had in January this year. Beside its groups in Budapest, the alliance has 405 organizations in the provinces, AFD executive and spokesman Ivan Peto told the press in Budapest on March 19.

The AFD has set up regional groups and professional sections dealing, for instance, with religious groups and ethical, technical women and rural affairs. The teachers and physicians are soon to set up their sections. (The press conference was held in the AFD headquarters,

which used to accomodate a committee of the formerly ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in the center of Budapest.)

The recent opinion polls revealed that the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the AFD were engaged in a neck and neck race before the March 25 elections, Mr Peto said.

"The Alliance holds it necessary for the new parliament to work out its rules. The AFD experts are elaborating a draft economic government programme. This does not mean that the alliance is sure about taking part in the new government," Mr Peto said.

The AFD holds it a pressing task for the new parliament to deal with the law on mass communication. The alliance insists that the national media, including the Hungarian radio, the Hungarian television and the MTI news agency, should be controlled by an impartial, professional committee. The AFD will never intervene in personnel issues, even if it wins the elections, Mr Peto said.

Acting President Janos Kis said his party had a chance of becoming the strongest parliamentary party but would consider it a success even if it finished in second place. In reply to a question, Mr Kis said the outcome of the GDR elections would not influence the Hungarian voters. The elections will be decided by the internal power relations, Mr Kis said.

Committee Imposes Campaigning Ban 24-25 Mar

LD2103031690 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—Under the Hungarian electoral law, on the day before the Hungarian elections, beginning from 00:00 hours on March 24, it is illegal to carry out any campaigning in connection with the elections.

The position of the National Electoral Committee is that the press, radio and television should strictly obey the legal ban on providing information on the political campaign or going public with any partial elections results.

Therefore, the committee wishes to call on the leaders of the central, regional and local mass media to withhold any information between 00:00 hours on March 24 and 20:00 hours p.m. on March 25 in connection with persons or symbols having any relation to a party or its candidate, or including any of the election results or partial results.

At the request of the national electoral committee, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has called on the responsible bodies of the countries which have Hungarian-language radio or television services to heed the above request.

* New Campaign Phase Discussed

25000669 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Dr. Tibor Csiba, head of the National Elections Office, by Lajos Bodnar; place and date not given: "From Today on They Certify the Nominating Slips: Election Struggle in New Phase"]

[Text] We have reached an important date in election preparations. Yesterday the one-month period allotted for the gathering of nominating slips came to an end. A new campaign phase is beginning, the situation is becoming more clear, and soon we will know who has succeeded in gathering the 750 nominating slips needed, and where. We discussed his immediate tasks with Dr. Tibor Csiba, head of the National Elections Office.

[NEPSZABADSAG] An important, although one could not say quiet, phase of the March free elections has come to an end. How would you assess the nominating campaign from the viewpoint of election organs?

[Csiba] I sense that a rather difficult phase has come to an end, because we have had to deal with all the concerns and troubles presented by the novel features. Never before has this apparatus participated in preparing an election based on a multiparty system. Virtually every legal provision and solution was new, all the way to preparing the seemingly most simple printed matter. We had to plan these printed materials while we could not tell how many candidates would be running officially, and in reality, in the elections. Despite this fact, the necessary printed material has been prepared, although we still have some problems with the planning of the ballot forms, particularly with regard to the technical solutions of linking slates.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your experience with regard to citizens' activities?

[Csiba] The model which combines elements of individual and slate voting systems is also novel to the populace, of course. For this reason, we tried in the first phase of the campaign to inform citizens about the most important matters. We ordered more than 300,000 copies of public announcements and posters, but unfortunately not all of the posters were used, and the extent to which citizens are informed leaves much to be desired.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We read day after day about objections and complaints related to nominating slips. Nevertheless, at this time we should talk about the most timely tasks of election organs, because from this day on your tasks will increase.

[Csiba] The end of the campaign is coming. By 2400 on 23 February all parties had to report their candidates, and independent candidates had to report to local election organs. The submission of 750 nominating slips is followed by a certification process. A party which successfully overcomes the first hurdle may delegate one member to the election committee. In this way the

election organs will be supplemented. The new members will be sworn in, and thus will become full-fledged members of the election committees which monitor the legality of the elections. Candidates for representative must make a statement before this committee, indicating in what capacity they are running—whether they regard themselves as party candidates or independent candidates—whether they accept the nomination, whether they are eligible to vote, and that they are not running in another individual voting district. Candidates must also state that they do not hold another office that is incompatible with the representative mandate.

[NEPSZABADSAG] When will you publicize the final list of candidates for representative?

[Csiba] The election organs have three days to tally all the reports in each district. The apparatus working alongside the National Election Office will computerize the names of candidates for representatives.

[NEPSZABADSAG] I understand that the sequence of party lists was awarded on the basis of a lottery. They will be listed on the ballot forms in the appropriate order.

[Csiba] The lotteries for the national lists will take place on Tuesday, 27 February, at 1900 in the parliament building. But the sequence in which parties are listed will not be uniform, because the sequence in which regional, county slates are listed will be decided by lottery locally, also on the 27th.

[NEPSZABADSAG] All of this pertains to slates. When may the public learn the names on the official list of candidates.

[Csiba] The election committees having jurisdiction have until 28 February to announce the candidates' names, together with the sequential number of the slates. Although by the 26th we will essentially have a list of candidates in both individual and regional election districts, that is, the complete list of candidates, parties will be publicized only on Wednesday the 28th, because the lottery drawings will take place on the 27th.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Accordingly, from now on the National Election Committee's tasks will increase.

[Csiba] We must take a position regarding threshold criteria concerning issues pertaining to the nomination of candidates. We must take positions, for example, on whether a party announcing a national slate has been able to establish seven regional slates. This is a preliminary condition for establishing a national slate. Quite naturally, the National Election Committee must carefully examine several other legal conditions relative to the nomination of candidates.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We have not yet discussed an essential issue. What is the amount of budgetary support candidates for representative will receive in the final run?

[Csiba] They will be able to decide this matter once they know the exact number of certified candidates. Just what amount the representatives may count on depends on the size of the available fund, which is 100 million forints, and on the number of candidates who share that amount.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Certainly, the parties whose candidates have fallen out of the race at this time will not blame themselves, but will blame the election law, the election organs. But how can those parties that have succeeded in nominating candidates join in the further workings of the election organs?

[Csiba] The submission of nominating slips is the first official occasion at which election organs—the committees and members of the apparatus—meet with their potential partners, with representatives of parties and nominees for whom they are planning the elections. I consider it to be very important for both sides to take advantage of this occasion to deepen their cooperation. After all, the elections cannot be conducted without the parties' cooperation. We would expressly request every party running in the elections to delegate as many persons as possible to the election organs. It would be most fortunate if each party could delegate one representative to every election committee. The active cooperation of parties in the workings of election organs is indispensable from the standpoint of confidence in the elections, and the purity of elections. Not only because as full-fledged members they may render decisions with regard to disputed issues, but also because then they can see with their own eyes that the election apparatus is doing everything possible in order to implement the March elections smoothly, and pursuant to law.

* MSZP Conduct in Nominating Slip Abuse Case

25000662C Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by "(csarnai)": "The Man Who Made Someone Collect Nominating Slips: The MSZP Recalled Him, So He Quit the Party"]

[Text] In the 6 February issue of NEPSZAVA, we reported a stunning case in a piece entitled "Pensioners Being Extorted." It seems that at Hajdusamson, Zoltan Baktai had used a Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] letter of authorization to forcefully collect unsigned, incomplete nominating slips. At the time we were unaware of the background of this case. On Thursday, Andras Lukovics, MSZP Hajdu-Bihar County election campaign chief, called our editorial offices.

[Lukovics] We investigated the case. We learned that in the 4th election district, i.e. in Hajdusamson, Albert Forian, a private entrepreneur, was the MSZP nominee. Zoltan Baktai was his employee. Forian prepared the MSZP authorization letter for the young man, consistent with rules. But the way the nominating slips were collected was not. We paid a visit to the offended persons, the Tar couple, and apologized. Unfortunately, Albert

Forian was not willing to do so. On 11 February we held a membership meeting in Nyirabrany. The MSZP members of that district were present. We presented a vote of no confidence for Albert Forian, and he has since quit the party. We are running a new candidate in his place.

[NEPSZAVA] How could Forian be the MSZP's candidate?

[Lukovics] I met him not too long ago. In any event he was the MSZP leader at Hajduhadhazteglas. Probably his friends nominated him.

[NEPSZAVA] Did Forian acknowledge his guilt?

[Lukovics] He even denied receipt of the nominating slips. On the other hand, Baktai said that he was collecting the slips on Forian's behalf. Accordingly, for the time being we do not have the nominating slips at issue; we are thinking about ways of having them returned, most likely by Forian....

* Christian National Union: Election a 'Comedy'

25000662D Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Throw Bread Instead of a Stone"]

[Text] On 16 February the Christian National Union held a demonstration against the elections at Vorosmarty Square.

In the midst of a still-life composed of lively posters and banners, Laszlo Romhanyi, spokesman (as he was already) [as published], referred to the struggle for nominating slips, which in his view was manipulated, as an election comedy. He said that at this point one may already question the purity of the first free elections, because according to information he has received, the various parties are buying nominating slips for between 2,000 and 3,000 forints. He announced that as of yesterday the Christian National Union had decided to stop collecting nominating slips. Two weeks ago, when the Union held a demonstration in front of the television headquarters building, Laszlo Juszt presumably threatened to throw stones at those demonstrators present. Reacting to this remark, the spokesman showed a huge loaf of bread wrapped in the national colors to the audience, and announced that they are responding with this symbol to Laszlo Juszt's threat of stoning.

* TV, Radio Campaign Oversight Committee Formed

25000662F Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[MTI report: "Campaign Oversight Committee Being Formed; Parties Running Slates Comment on Radio and Television Advertisements"]

[Text] At its Monday meeting the inter-party mediation committee initiated the establishment of a campaign oversight committee. According to representatives of parties establishing national slates, the committee will be established on 27 February. Parties establishing regional slates may also participate in the committee's workings on a consultative basis.

It will be the committee's task to oversee television and radio election programs during the final 30 days of the election campaign. The inter-party mediation committee has designated a negotiating delegation to clarify the legal and jurisdictional issues of the oversight committee. It is composed of representatives of the Independent Smallholders party [FKgP], the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. These representatives will consult with the National Election Committee [OVB]. According to advance projections, the campaign oversight committee will be an organ of the OVB, and will perform functions under public law. In addition to providing political oversight to the election programs of the national media, the committee will also judge irregularities occurring in the "war of posters," and possible violations of ethical rules at election rallies.

At the inter-party mediating committee meeting participants reviewed issues pertaining to television and radio programs related to the final 30 days of the campaign, as well as to election advertisements. They agreed that the election announcements of parties running candidates will be broadcast on television and radio, beginning on 28 February, with a two-minute duration each. An opportunity to broadcast five announcements per day appears feasible. On the first occasion the announcements of the MDF, the Hungarian People's Party, the Association of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the SZDSZ, and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary will be broadcast. The second set of "five" will include the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Patriotic Election Coalition, the MSZP, the FKgP, and the Agrarian Alliance. Further sequences will be established on the basis of a lottery. For this reason the inter-party mediation committee is requesting that parties capable of running candidates report their requirements for broadcasting announcements by 23 February to the office of the Council of Ministers.

It appears that in regard to reports concerning election rallies a joint position is taking shape. A majority of parties that take part in the workings of the inter-party mediation committee are of the view that the reports should be broadcast as part of the program TV-HIRADO [news]. As perceived, HIRADO would report on the election rallies of various parties in proportion to the number of candidates the parties are running. Compliance with this principle would be controlled by the campaign oversight committee.

The inter-party mediation committee is also considering a concept by which Hungarian Television [MTV] would broadcast debate programs during the divided programming time beginning on 8 March. In these programs, on each occasion representatives of four parties would

express their positions concerning a given topic. Parties running national slates would present themselves in these programs. The campaign oversight committee would decide how many times representatives of parties running national slates could participate in the debate programs. According to calculations presented by MTV representative Gyorgy Balo, there would be an opportunity to broadcast ten debate programs. Each program would last 60 minutes, except for debates among party chairmen, for which parties may require longer programming. At the Monday meeting a consensus was established in regard to the topics of debate. These will be: foreign policy, security policy, and international relations; social policies and health care; family, women, and youth policies; education and science; land and agricultural issues; minorities and nationality policies; short-term economic issues (inflation, unemployment, debt crisis management); long-term economic issues (proprietary reform); autonomous government issues; and debate among party chairmen (topics related to peaceful transition and to the building of a civil society and democracy).

On 23 February and 23 March, MTV will broadcast two-hour election summaries. MTV is preparing for large-scale live broadcasts on election day, 25 March, and on the day of the second round of elections which are likely to occur.

The parties consider it to be necessary to increase, if possible, the broadcast time available for paid election announcements during the final 30 days of the campaign, both on radio and on television. In this relation they continue to uphold a concept approved earlier, according to which in the optimum case individual organizations could broadcast advertisements twice daily on two channels of MTV, and four times daily on two broadcast stations of Hungarian Radio. In regard to such broadcasts the inter-party mediation committee, and later the campaign oversight committee, would render decisions in due regard of needs. The inter-party mediation committee registered its protest against a decision by MTV Channel 1 rejecting the broadcast of an informational advertisement placed by the Independent League of Democratic Trade Unions.

Members of the inter-party mediation committee agree with the idea that parties should not conduct campaign activities on 15 March. Each party is willing to exercise self-restraint of this nature on the national holiday.

Mazowiecki Sends Congratulations to Gorbachev

AU2003153090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Mar 90 p 5

[Telegram of congratulations from Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on his appointment to this post]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President! Please accept my warmest congratulations on your appointment to the post of president of the USSR by the Congress of People's Deputies.

I wish you further achievements in solving your country's difficult problems, for the good of all its citizens.

You are entitled to personal satisfaction with everything that you have already accomplished in restructuring the Soviet Union and improving relations between states and peoples.

I also wish you personal satisfaction and success for the future.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki [no title given].

Jaruzelski's Congratulations

AU2003153290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Mar 90 pp 1,5

[Telegram of congratulations from President Wojciech Jaruzelski to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on his appointment to this post]

[Text] His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, Moscow.

Esteemed President Mikhail Sergeyevich! I wish to convey to you my warmest congratulations and best wishes on your election to the post of president of the USSR by the Third Congress of People's Deputies.

I am convinced that the choice of you to fill this honorable yet exceedingly responsible position will encounter warm support in Poland. We are monitoring with great interest and genuine warm feelings the process of comprehensive political, social, and cultural restructuring in the USSR, as well as the USSR's peaceful foreign policy. Polish society harbors a profound respect for your personal, decisive contribution toward the initiation and bold implementation of these transformations. It also appreciates the significance of these changes for the democratic reforms that have been commenced in Poland and in other countries of Central and East Europe, and for the consolidation of peace, security, and the building of new structures of cooperation in Europe and the world.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my personal satisfaction with our joint achievement in building a new model of Polish-Soviet relations, based on a broad social foundation, and our practical observance of the principles of equality, sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs. The reform process is creating favorable conditions for the strengthening of all the values that join us, and, at the same time, for the final liberation of our relations from the tragic burden of the past that still weighs down upon them. The choice of you for the post of USSR president will encourage a further rapprochement between our states and sincere, genuine friendship between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union.

The development of events in Europe conforms yet again the importance and necessity of Polish-Soviet cooperation in the international arena. This cooperation is assuming singular importance during the process of shaping a new face of Europe, creating an effective system of security based on a strategic balance of forces, and guaranteeing peaceful existence for the peoples of Europe. We highly value the decisive support of the Soviet Union and of you personally, Mr. President, for Poland's vital interests, including the inviolability of our borders.

Once again I congratulate you warmly, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, and wish you new successes for the good of the Soviet Union and the cause of peace and friendly cooperation between our peoples, as well as health and happiness.

With profound respect and a feeling of personal friendship, Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish Republic.

Position on German Unification Remains Unchanged

LD1903095990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw [ADN Correspondent]—The election result in the GDR will not change Poland's position on German unification, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski stated to ADN today. This is particularly valid for questions concerning the borders of the future Germany. Irrespective of the internal order in the GDR, his country sticks by the demand to negotiate and to initial border treaties with the two German states before unification. He accepts the decision of the GDR voters, but does not wish to assess it at present because it is a question of a sovereign decision by the people.

'Solidarity' Daily on GDR Election Outcome

AU2103140990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Mar 90 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Janusz Reiter]

[Text] It is perfectly clear that many GDR voters made a decision according to the following principle: If in doubt, vote for the right. It was they, the voters who were undecided until the very least moment, who caused the outcome of the elections to differ so significantly from what was being predicted a few weeks ago and even just a few days ago. It was they who determined that the

right-wing bloc should score a greater success than was expected and that the Social Democrats should suffer an unexpected defeat.

For the time being, one can only speculate about what lay behind that decision. They undoubtedly wanted a clear alternative to the previous communist governments. They certainly also wanted to express their support for rapid unification.

It was a different decision from the one that Polish voters made in June of last year. In our case, it was a question of changing the system. In the GDR, this question was settled as soon as the Berlin Wall fell, thus paving the way for national unity. Voters had to decide how and at what speed unification should proceed. They decided that it should proceed rapidly and in accordance with the principles that have proved themselves in the other half of Germany. This wish proved to be stronger than the fears associated with rapid change. That is why the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which promised greater social security, suffered a defeat.

Apart from being a victory for the leaders of the East German right, the outcome of the elections was also a victory for Chancellor Helmut Kohl. His political allies, or, as some would have it, his proteges, won. The chancellor will be able to exercise a direct influence on the further course of events. The task that he now faces is one of reconciling the will of the GDR electorate with the realities of international politics and the interests of Germany's neighbors.

Mazowiecki Gives Interview Before U.S. Visit

LD2003135990 Warsaw Domestis Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Interview with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by reporter Andrey Jelenski at Warsaw's Okecie Airport on 20 March—live or recorded]

[Text] [Jelenski] The premier of the Polish Republic, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leaves on a six-day official visit to the United States and Canada today, on a regular Polish LOT Airlines flight.

[Mazowiecki] I expect talks to center on the subject of the current situation in the world and in Europe—above all, in a Europe that is swiftly changing, and I think that this is a very important subject. I believe that the United States is counting very much on a strong and economically healthy Poland, and will recognize that such a strong and economically healthy Poland is an important element of the new European order that is being formed.

[Jelenski] We can expect, sir, that you will be talking in Washngton about the future Europe without borders.

[Mazowiecki] I recognize as Poland's main interests that she be seen as a significant element in the European order, which may be an element stabilizing the progress of democratic processes and the process of creating a new European order—that is, acting against Balkanization, and creating a good start for greater rapprochement and integration between both parts of Europe, and so the beginning of the road to European confederation. An important factor here is bringing about the treaty-based normalization of issues that directly concern us, and so the elimination of all [word indistinct], and I think that understanding on the part of the United States for this need is very important.

[Jelenski] What is the most important issue to be settled with regard to economic affairs?

[Mazowiecki] What is most important is for those things that have been decided in Polish-American relations to be implemented. We will most probably sign a sort of general-outline economic agreement during my visit. It is simply a question of awakening interest in Poland on the part of U.S. entrepreneurs and and industrialists. (?We want) U.S. entrepreneurs and industrialists. [words indistinct] I am not going in order to ask for anything new in this sphere. However, I am going in order to talk about the following: that those things that have been decided in the sphere of assistance for Poland should be strictly and, as I would put it, dynamically and speedily implemented.

[Jelenski] Mr. Premier, what do you expect from the seven-hour visit to Canada?

[Mazowiecki] I think that there is also a great deal of liking for Poland in Canada. This is also very important. It is a short visit; however, Canada is also a participant of the Helsinki II Conference, and her position here is important. Thus, I think that I will have an opportunity to speak to the Canadian premier about subjects concerning the creation of a new European order.

Geremek Interview on Foreign Policy, Europe

AU2003160690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15 Mar 90 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek by Piotr Pacewicz; date and place not given: "Geremek's Europlan"]

[Text] [Pacewicz] As a historian and politician, could you give us your opinions on Europe's future and the Polish Republic's foreign policy within a wider context?

[Geremek] We are currently discovering the attractions of an independent foreign policy. Our very vigorous diplomatic activity concerning guarantees for us with regard to German unification—there is much to indicate that it has been effective—the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, and the unprecedented visit to France are all achievements of a foreign policy whose underlying principle is, for the first time in 45 years, the national interest.

[Pacewicz] Nevertheless, is this policy based on some kind of vision of the future Europe?

[Geremek] A vision does not appear overnight. It emerges gradually. I think that the future Europe, which Poland wants to build together with other countries, should be one in which there has been a transition from the dualist model—one in which there are two blocs, two economic systems—to a polycentric model, in which no one exercises hegemony. The political architecture of our continent should develop an entirely new form.

The North-South axis may come to override the East-West axis. Poland's natural place is in the community of northern Scandinavian countries and among Baltic peoples. However, it has to be said that so far little has been accomplished in building a northern Europe.

Czechoslovakia and Hungary are more oriented toward the south; toward a setup involving Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria. Italy's foreign service is being particularly active in working on a concept of this kind. In addition, Czechoslovakia will undoubtedly be seeking an economic partner in a united Germany.

[Pacewicz] Surely the process of dismantling communism would have the effect of bringing Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary closer together? This is something that you yourself have been working for.

[Geremek] Yes, and on 9 April I am going to Bratislava to attend a summit- level meeting involving Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. Contrary to the fears that have been expressed about Czechoslovakia's position, it was actually President Havel who extended the invitation to a "tripartite summit."

There are many things linking Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary: difficulties, fears, and hopes. We have a program of returning to Europe in common; a program of entering political and economic organizations that have so far been confined to Western Europe. We should already be adjusting to EEC standards in trade, banking, taxation, and accounting.

Confederation is a word that has been mentioned recently. It is a word that encounters resistance. Confederation, the uniting of states, means, first of all, an economic and consequently a customs union. That is how Germany united in the 19th century, or the Benelux countries in the 20th century. A customs union of countries that are suffering from economic deficiencies is not a good idea. It is natural for a poor country to seek a rich partner. Poland should understand the logic of Czechoslovakia or Hungary. What is more, it should actively turn its attention to the wealthy Scandinavian countries.

Divergent economic interests should not in any way inhibit political cooperation. By acting together, our voice is loud enough to be heard in both East and West. It will be a voice that speaks in favor of a Europe without the hegemony that has existed until now, but is also in favor of a Europe that is open to both the USSR and the United States.

In this sense, our three countries will become an attractive partner for both the Russians and the Americans. The message of our common policy would be: There is a place in Europe for both a USSR that is democratizing and the United States. This would enable us to avoid two negative phenomena: Russia's withdrawal from Europe (which would undoubtedly be accompanied by a revival of Slavophile sentiments) and American isolationism.

Support for the "CSCE course" lies in the interests of our three countries. The Helsinki framework, built on the philosophy of human rights, provides a point of departure for a European political structure that would provide for continued U.S. engagement in our continent. It would also curb the dangers of German economic domination.

[Pacewicz] We are becoming an attractive political partner for the United States, but do the Americans realize this?

[Geremek] On the basis of my talks with prominent Americans, I would say that the answer is yes. They realize that in the future Europe France will no doubt assume a somewhat anti-American stance—as it has traditionally done—(and it may turn toward Russia) and a mighty Germany may seek to go entirely its own way and flirt with Russia.

What is more, in the United States itself, a longing for isolationism is still very much present and a trend that aims to direct attention solely toward the Pacific Basin is always in evidence. American politicians do not want to pay for pulling out of Europe yet again. The United States may view our economic problems as less of an obstacle to economic cooperation than at present if the Americans become convinced that our hostility toward any kind of political hegemony favors their presence in Europe.

[Pacewicz] Alongside the undoubted diplomatic successes, there is concern about moves made by the government that would appear to belong to a bygone age. The defense doctrine that was released recently provides for the maintenance of military expenditure and envisages a threat coming solely from the West in the event of a conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The government has also unequivocally come out in favor of Soviet forces remaining here.

[Geremek] Let us leave aside the "defense doctrine"—it is a an anachronistic document. Polish foreign policy over the last few months has been inspired by an entirely different spirit, and it serves the republic's interests well. However, it has to be constantly thought about critically.

From time to time, there is a tendency to accord relations with the USSR a privileged status and this has a certain political tradition as its point of reference: Fearful of a strong Germany, we should turn to the East. Of course, this tendency enjoys an excellent press in the USSR, but in the long-term this kind of attitude does not meet the challenges of the times, and this also holds true

viewed from the Soviet perspective. Relations with the USSR should be good, but they should not occupy a privileged position, and they should be based on reorganization on a European scale as well as a vision of a continental system of guarantees that will replace our present-day military pacts.

Both political morality and the Polish raison d'etat dictate that we should support the principle that nations have the right to self-determination. Lithuania's independence is a sign showing that an imperialist system is collapsing. This process strengthens a democratic and independent Poland and creates new prospects for Russia.

The gradual withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland is to be expected. It is inevitable and could be combined with the construction of a new European security system.

[Pacewicz] As far back as August 1989 you expressed support for the Germans right to unite....

[Geremek] Because I am also convinced that German unification should not be feared. It lies in the interests of Poland and Europe. However, potential dangers have to be recognized so that they do not become reality..

The French recently proposed establishing a Bank for European Development that would assist the countries that are in the process of discarding communism. It is a beautiful idea, but the question that arises is whose capital will be predominate in the bank: A united Germany will have about 20 percent of the world's capital at its disposal.

That is how powerful Germany is. A united Germany's entry into an open, polycentric Europe provides certain guarantees that there will be no revival of German nationalism, which is particularly present in the GDR. Viewed from this angle, the strengthening of the political and economic integration of the EEC "twelve" lies in the interests of Poland and of Europe, especially as the European Community, as Jacques Delors recently confirmed, is much readier to allow Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary to join than is widely believed.

[Pacewicz] Is your vision not too optimistic?

[Geremek] This whole vision of a stable and decentralized Europe is based on two assumptions: There will not be a revival of nationalism in Germany and that the collapse of the Russian empire will proceed according to the scenario that Sakharov envisioned; that is, the USSR will become a confederation of states seeking paths to modernization.

The Soviet parliamentarian Adamovich, who visited us recently, described the dangers connected with the collapse of the empire using the following image: Let us hope that these shaky walls do not collapse onto a nuclear weapons depot.

[Pacewicz] Can as poor and backward a country as Poland be of any importance in European politics?

[Geremek] As the first country in this part of the world to have thrown off communism, we have a chance to pursue an active policy regarding the construction of Europe. It could be pointed out here, while keeping things in perspective, that thanks to an active foreign policy, de Gaulle's France became a great power, although its economic potential did not justify it. De Gaulle brought about the overcoming of age-old Franco-German antagonism. We should strive to make the Odra-Nysa border like the current border between France and the FRG.

Poland, to the extent that it makes an effort that is inspired by genuine political imagination, can become an attractive partner for Europe and the world. If it does not, the danger we will face is one of isolation and political parochialism while being surrounded by strong neighbors.

British Business Delegation Holds Talks

AU2003163090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17-18 Mar 90 p 2

[Report by Krzysztof Szczesniak: "The British Are Penetrating the Polish Market"]

[Excerpts] Do conditions for investing in Poland really exist? To what extent can profits be repatriated? How will the privatization program work? Can the Polish market be used in order to do business with the USSR?

These were the main issues that interested a group of businessmen drawn from 15 leading British companies who visited our country from 15 through 16 March. They were accompanied by Trade and Industry Secretary Nicholas Ridley, who was invited to Poland by Minister Marcin Swiecicki. Minister N. Ridley summed up and assessed the visit at a news conference on 16 March.

One of the results produced by the visit was that agreement was reached on the need to draw up a general agreement covering government-backed credit guarantees in return for providing British companies with more favorable conditions for the repatriation of profits. Government investment guarantees will also be introduced, which should attract British capital to our country. However, at the same time, the British side believed that government guarantees should also be provided for short-term loans at this stage. [passage omitted]

Nicholas Ridley was received by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz on 16 March.

SDRP Daily on Unemployment, Workers' Rights

AU1403103090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[Bozena Jastrzebska and Tomasz Szymanski report, including interview with Wieslaw Koziel, head of the legal department at the Main Labor Inspectorate; place and date not given: "Collective Misfortunes"]

[Text] Group layoffs have already been announced by 1,800 enterprises. They will affect at least 74,000 people.

"Autosan" in Sanok has said that it will give notice to 1,500 of its employees. Its neighbor in Sanok, "Stomil," will lay off 798. To give just a few more examples: "Kasprzak" in Warsaw will lay off 1,100; "Unitra-Cemi" in Warsaw—750; "Glinik" in Gorki—700; the radio component plant in Kutno—500.

In the middle of January, 56,000 people were out of work. Two weeks later the figure had already risen to over 100,000. By the end of February, it had reached 152,000. It is estimated that 10 days into March there are at least 180,000 people out of work.

It is envisioned that the implementation of the Balcerowicz program will result in 400,000 people being unemployed. The World Bank maintains that the figure will be 1 million. The implementation of the unemployment "plan" has now reached the 50-percent mark. In four months' time, 450,000 college and high school graduates will start looking for a job.

An increasing number of enterprises are trying to avert collapse by placing their employees on leave, including unpaid leave, and by reducing working time by an hour or a certain number of days. All of this amounts to nothing other than hidden unemployment.

Can the employee who loses out financially as a result of this kind of maneuvering do anything? Can he defend himself? I put this question to Wieslaw Koziel, head of the legal department at the Main Labor Inspectorate.

[Koziel] In every case of this kind, a plant should obtain the the employee's consent. Without it, an employee cannot be made to take leave and his terms of employment cannot be altered. Trade unions, employee self-management councils, or similar bodies do not have the authority to express such consent on behalf of employees.

[Question] What would happen if an employee were to reject the suggestion that he should go on leave?

[Koziel] The Labor Code is quite clear on this point. Article 1 states that the employee is entitled to remuneration, in line with the hourly or monthly rate for his particular grade, for work that was not performed if he was prepared to perform such work.

[Question] Have labor inspectors received many complaints relating to these kinds of questions?

[Koziel] A great many. They receive visits from very many people, even whole groups of people. However, when we say that we will intervene, they withdraw their complaints, because they are afraid. The usual "inducement" to taking leave is the prospect of leaving the plant for good.

[Question] Are the fears justified?

[Koziel] Very much so. The law on special regulations governing the termination of contracts of employment cites economic, organizational, production, and technological reasons, but also mentions improving working conditions and environmental considerations. Thus, its scope is very wide, which enables it to be applied in almost every situation or circumstance.

[Question] It would seem that the employee does not enjoy any kind of protection.

[Koziel] There are certain regulations that do offer protection. However, I would like to point out that there has been a clear change in the way in which the intention behind the regulations is being interpreted. The interests of the enterprise are placed first now. In the past, all matters about which there was some uncertainty or doubt were settled in favor of the employee. Now, we see the opposite happening.

[Question] Have the trade unions become more active?

[Koziel] We did not receive any complaints from trade union organizations until the middle of February. There are two reasons for the silence.

[Question] Can the State Labor Inspectorate help people in some way?

[Koziel] Yes, if regulations have been breached.

[Question] Thank you.

Weaknesses in Citizens' Committee Movement Noted

AU1603175890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Surdykowski: "New Committees, Old Complaints"]

[Text] Nowadays, if the phone rings and it is a "call from the committee," it will no doubt be the citizens' committee. The former ruling party's committees have been former committees for a long time now. The officials have been removed and, increasingly, so have the desks. A new political party that is sufficiently powerful and capable of competing with the citizens' movement has not emerged and, in light of the scant public interest in the development of various parties both large and small, it is unlikely that such a party will emerge soon. As it prepares for the local government elections, and perhaps for parliamentary elections that may take place earlier than expected, the citizens movement has become, without even particularly wanting to, the only organized political party in present-day Poland following the demise of the Polish United Workers Party. "Solidarity" has fought a monopoly party for such a long time that it has become such a party itself.

The movement possesses two main features that protect it from developing all the monstrous defects that we know all too well from the recent past: A lack of internal

discipline, which would be considered lamentable under other circumstances, and the prospect that rather more reliable elections will take place sooner or later. This means that the professional organizational apparatus and "Solidarity's" own nomenklatura can only sink roots to a very limited extent, although there have been some notable successes.

However, as the "committees," and possibly the regional governing committees, are the only organized political force in a particular region at the present time, they will attract all manner of careerists, people who are subservient to any authority and are eager to bask in its aura. This applies to those who were old hands on entirely different committees until recently, only to undergo an appropriate transformation, having perceived at the right time that they are no longer "top dogs" in their old quarters, and they are now trying to get themselves an appropriate share of the icing on the cake. The committees are also attracting people who are frustrated and want to vent their feelings of bitterness and injustice where the levers of powers are located and decisions are made. There is nothing new under the sun about this: There are dangers of this kind about every governing party in every political system, including parties that do not intend to govern forever. It is enough to be aware of these dangers and to submit oneself for approval in an election every now and again.

However, there are a number of people who do not find this situation to their liking. This has given rise to a tendency to transform the citizens' committee movement into something resembling the prewar Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, or even the postwar National Unity Front, or the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The tendency is a dangerous one because it seeks to preserve the current, abnormal political situation, one that is far removed from real pluralism in the Western sense. What is more, all these "fronts for supporting the government" were weak from the moment of their inception, and served neither themselves nor the governments that they supported well.

There is no doubt that the next parliamentary elections, as long as they are not held far too soon, will be entered by various political parties with their own lists of candidates, including parties that are yet to evolve out of "Solidarity." It is no longer possible for there to be the kind of plebiscite on "Lech's team" that was held in 1989. Besides, that would be bad for fostering genuine political pluralism. On the other hand, there are very clear signs that the committees will enter the local government elections as a bloc, which, in view of the simple majority nature of the electoral code, may mean that present-day opposition groups or even those who are just not standing on the "Solidarity" ticket will not be represented on local councils. This would be disastrous: It would consolidate a one-party setup, and electoral success could become an inducement to preserving the current transitional period and the role of the committees as a new kind of Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government.

It is now too late to alter the electoral code, but there is time enough to appeal to the committees that in drawing up the "Solidarity" lists, they should take account of various political tendencies and options to a much greater extent than a year ago. Those who were the opposition until not so long ago should respect those who are now their opposition, as without the watchful eye of an opposition and its sometimes fierce protests, all government is impossible.

Senator Warns of Rural Indifference to Elections

LD1603204790

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1000 GMT, on 16 March, begins a live relay from the Senate in Warsaw. At 1100 GMT Senator Stoklosa, the only member of the house who did not get in on a Solidarity ticket, speaks in a debate on local government and the approaching local elections. He declares his support for the bills as amended by the Sejm, "since the elections have to be held as quickly as possible in order to overcome the state of stagnation and uncertainty at local level."

Stoklosa adds: "I saw this yet again last week, as I had several meetings with my voters in the rural areas, in the craftsmen's community, and with young people. The discussions and conversations were obviously dominated by economic matters, but people also spoke about the coming elections. Based on these statements and letters and phone calls to my office and to the editors of TYGODNIK NOWY, which I sponsor, I would like to formulate a few appraisals and conclusions concerning the public perception of the acts on self-government.

"Among a large proportion of my voters, the prevalent view is that the objective of this parliament and the political forces that dominate in it is not to change the principles of the functioning of self-government. They are treating the new act and the elections as a pretext for a wholesale replacement of administrative personnel at the basic level. Some—in my opinion, unfortunate—steps by the citizen's committees are also viewed with criticism. Whether these are rumors or true accounts about blacklists of people earmarked for dismissal, about criteria for personnel selection under which the political past means more than true competence, about the setting up of various shadow cabinets, and the allocation of posts even before the voters have had their say—all these give the impression that one nomenklatura is departing and is being replaced by another. This argument is authenticated by similar misgivings frequently articulated by Chairman Lech Walesa.

"A consequence of such political conduct by some of the election campaign organizers is a sense of insecurity and frustration among all administrative personnel irrespective of their usefulness, innovativeness, and loyalty to the new system. Virtually everyone in administrative posts today is scared and works with his bags packed, not to enjoy the fruits of his labor but in order not to offend

anyone, the self-government, the unions, the committees, or the work forces. If I had to run my enterprise in such conditions I'd have gone bust ages ago.

"This situation has to be brought to an end as soon as possible. Bad personnel have to be replaced, while the rest have to be given a sense of stability and security. Otherwise, they are going to become—and already are —a brake on economic progress. Not because of political or substantive considerations but because of psychological reasons. The elections and the implementation of the act on self-government should speed up this process and improve the personnel situation at local level. That, at least, is my hope.

"Ladies and gentlemen, the approaching elections have aroused political emotions in some people, worry and frustration in others, and apathy and lack of belief in the possibility of being able to change anything among my voters, especially those resident in the rural areas. During the meetings the farmers kept asking me: Senator, who are we to vote for? We no longer trust anyone at all.

That is a dramatic manifestation of the present mood in the rural areas whence a widespread demand for changes in agricultural policy is heard. I do not wish to repeat myself, as I have spoken about this at the previous Senate meeting, but I was instructed by farmers from (?Zakrzewo) to present from this platform their proposal to the government: There was a time when the government asked us for a grain loan; now we beg the government for a fertilizer loan.

"I do not want to go on and on with this peasants' lament, as malicious hacks describe it, but I must warn you that the rural areas may react sharply to government agricultural policy during the elections and, worse still, may remain indifferent to the self-management idea after the elections. Thank you."

Unlike other contributors, Stoklosa received no applause at the end of his speech.

Daily Views Peasant Movement Developments

AU1803232990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Mar 90 p 5

[Edward Krzemien commentary: "Peasant Movements"]

[Text] It began some twelve months ago when the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] of the Mikolajczyk tradition was reconstituted. Six months later, the separate groupings led by Baka, Teliga, and Kaminski joined forces in Wilanow. A month later, the Polish Peasant Party-"Solidarity" [PSL-"S"], was formed, and in December 1989, Polish Peasant Party-"Rebirth" [PSL-"R"], appeared. Despite countless declarations, many efforts by a tri-party commission and Reverend Bijak, the national farmers chaplain, there has been no further rapprochement between the parties, and it appears that there will be none before the local elections.

The total membership of the Mikolajczyk PSL remains a closely guarded secret. One does not disclose one's strength before an election campaign, says Henryk Bak. It is known that the party has seven deputies in the Sejm and that it has absolutely no money. The only source of the PSL's income is its membership dues and the contribution of 100,000 zloty's [Z] each paid by the editorial team of GAZETA LUDOWA, a party biweekly of which four issues have already been published. The PSL is pressing for money from the government's election budget for the upcoming local elections and the return of its former offices on Jeruzalemska Avenue (its central headquarters till the party's liquidation in 1947; the building was the property of the Warsaw City Council). At the moment, the PSL operates from two small rooms on Rakowiecka Street.

The PSL is going into the election campaign with its own list of candidates. Its 24 February resolution states that the merger of all the different peasant movements under the name PSL, can only take place from the grass roots by joint regional congresses of the local inhabitants. These congresses will create the local organizations of the amalgamated PSL. Voivodship congresses that will select candidates for the PSL's third congress are expected to take place before the end of April (the first congress was held in 1946, and the second in 1989).

The adoption of the name "PSL" by any other local or voivodship group can only signify one thing, says PSL Deputy Chairman Henryk Bak; namely, that the group recognizes the PSL's statutes, the party's current leadership, and the resolutions that have been passed by the PSL. If not, it is sheer political hypocrisy.

The formal party chairman is General Franciszek Kaminski, a very distinguished, but also a very ill man. The public knows him as an ardent supporter of amalgamation with PSL-"R," which he, along with Olesiak, the chairman of PSL-"R," continues to call for in appeals and declarations carried in DZIENNIK LUDOWY.

At the PSL's 9 March news conference (its first in 43 years), the real leaders of the PSL, Hanna Chorazyna and Henryk Bak, were asked about Kaminski's role in the PSL. They replied: The general is ill and we have not been in contact with him. Resolutions that bind our membership can only be made by our Supreme Council and the Supreme Executive Committee. All such documents have to be signed by the chairman and the secretary-general. The findings of the commission for unification of the peasant movements must be ratified by the PSL authorities before they are made public.

We are anticipating leadership changes in PSL-"R" very soon and this will facilitate the process of merger, replied Hanna Chorazyna in answer to a public statement that was made on 26 February by PSL-"R". Olesiak, Zych,

and Bentkowski demanded to know why there was a continuing deadlock between the two parties' merger plans.

The obvious strength of PSL-"S" is its own circle in the Citizens Parliamentary Club consisting of 36 Sejm deputies and senators. The party has only just come into being and has its organizations in 24 voivodships. Its press spokesman, Marek Dziubek, estimates that PSL-"S" already has some 5,000 members. Large parties will not flourish, he claims, because the people are dispirited. To have even several thousand members these days is already politically significant.

From 25 February, the party has been steered by a committee of nine members. Jozef Slisz, the deputy Senate marshal, is still the chairman of this committee.

The party is approaching the local elections arm in arm with the Citizens Committees. The party is not abandoning the principle of unity of the left, but one first has to agree a joint program (the Mikolajczyk program of the PSL is outdated), claim the leaders of PSL-"S", later, through the election results, we will be able to see what each party is worth, and only then can one talk about mergers.

The party has no property. An apartment on Rutkowska Street has to serve as its central offices. Throughout Poland, PSL-"S" is able to use the local offices of the Sejm deputies and senators, as well as "Solidarity's" regional offices. PSL-"S" finances come from membership dues and the Z50,000 contribution from each deputy and senator. It has set up an Industrial-Agricultural Society that it hopes will generate necessary funds. The strongest outposts of PSL-"S" are in the Nowy Sacz, Rzeszow, Lublin, Konin, and Gdansk voivodships. The first issue of its periodical BIULETYN has appeared.

How many of the 500,000-strong membership of the former United Polish Peasant Party [ZSL], have remained in PSL-"R"? According to the resolution of the party's December 1989 congress, everyone who does not leave the party within the next three months will be considered as a member of the PSL-"R". On Grzybowska Street they steadfastly maintain that there have not been any desertions. From telephone polls done in several voivodships, it appears that some 66 percent of the former ZSL members have chosen to remain. The party's competitors maintain that not more than 10 percent of the former ZSL have stayed. Whatever the truth may be, it is clear that PSL-"R" is the most numerous and the best organized of the current peasant parties, and is quite capable of assimilating any other peasant party. That is the reason why Olesiak, its chairman, has repeatedly called for merger at any price. That is also the reason why the PSL and PSL-"S" are opposed to merger and say that the "rebirth" is faked. PSL-"R" is standing with its own list of candidates and it intends to form People's Electoral Committees and an Election Fund.

The government commission on political parties' property has had 37 buildings and one holiday site submitted for review. In almost every former voivodship there was a People's Center and in every local district there was a local secretary who had a small office. ZSL's finances came from the business activities of "Cepelia" (tax concessions) and ZSL Publications (today renamed People's Publications). "Cepelia" now functions according to other principles and does not generate a profit. It has, however, a massive debt of Z6.5 billion for last year's election expenses. PSL-"R" publishes the daily DZIENNIK LUDOWY and the weeklies ZIELONY SZTANDAR and TIM, as well as and the Krakow region NEWS and the Poznan PEOPLE'S WEEKLY. The party has formed a company called "Ludowiec" and People's Economic Communities. These organizations are to provide the necessary funds for the party machinery.

A few weeks ago, a new peasant party movement made its appearance. It has no representation in the Sejm nor any central structures in Warsaw, the capital. The people who are active in peasant party movements at local grass-roots and voivodships levels are spontaneously creating one more peasant party organization without bothering with any of the existing programs. In Szczecin, the voivodship committees of PSL-"R" and PSL have merged. In southeast Poland all the existing peasant party structures have been dissolved and in their place there has been the formation of a single Peasant Party in all the 11 voivodships of the region. This is the claim made by Deputy Zabinski of PSL-"R". The reactions coming from the various peasant parties' headquarters in Warsaw are confused. PSL-"S" is in the process of completely renewing its organizational structures in this part of Poland. PSL-"R" is attempting to come to some compromise with the new grass-root structures. Henryk Bak considers that the newcomers must either belong to his PSL, or are attempting to steal the PSL's name.

Publishing Combine Faces Serious Difficulties

AU2003154690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 15 Mar 90 p 6

['Unia Press'-signed report: "Disasters Go in Pairs"]

[Text] The RSW [Workers Publishing Cooperative] publishing combine is suffering losses that are not merely of a moral nature. These losses are also financial. The prices of 1990 subscriptions were fixed last September and have shown themselves to be completely unrealistic. According to initial estimates, as a result of the galloping inflation, the RSW will make a loss on the subscriptions of some 3 billion zlotys in the first quarter of 1990 alone.

The following papers have found themselves in the "subscription trap," namely, the popular EXPRESS WIECZORNY, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, POLITYKA, PRZYJACIOLKA, GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, and GROMADA. For some of these publications (NOWE KSIAZKI and PROBLEMY) subscriptions make up 80 percent of their circulation.

The RSW has had to meet the subscription shortfalls from profits made by its other divisions.

Daily Notes Appointment of Television Chiefs

AU2003162890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 17-18 Mar 90 p 2

['DP'-signed report: "Who Controls Regional Television?—Drawicz's Men"]

[Text] Television, one of those institutions most closely linked to the authorities has already been taken over by the new political forces. This fact is illustrated by the recent personnel changes at the top in regional television.

In February, Barbara Trzeciak-Pietkiewicz was appointed editor in chief of Wroclaw Television. She is a supporter of "Solidarity," and in the past has worked as a radio and television journalist. In 1980-81 she was first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] local organization and was a delegate to the PZPR Ninth Congress. She was interned during martial law, and in the last few years earned her living by operating an ice cream stall in Wroclaw's zoological gardens. When Gucinski, the director of the Zoo, ordered it to be closed, she opened a boutique in the city's main square. Gucinski has had a weekly program on local television for several years.

Stanislaw Wolny, the former head of television in Wroclaw, is now working as a television reporter and his colleagues think that his days in television are numbered.

At the end of January, Zbigniew Puchalski, the director and chief editor of Szczecin Radio and Television was dismissed after 36 years of service. Jacek Popiolek, editor of television programming and producer of the recently dropped program "Czas," was relieved of his post at the same time. After his holiday, Puchalski is expected to return as a journalist, but Popiolek has not received any offer of work despite his impressive qualifications.

Przemyslaw Fenrych has recently been appointed new director of Szczecin Radio and Television. He has not worked in radio or television before. In the 1970's, Fernych worked for the city's central library, where he had no managerial responsibilities. In 1980-81, he was "Solidarity's" press spokesman for West Pomerania. He was interned during martial law and later became active in the Szczecin Catholic Intelligentsia Club. He then edited the information bulletin of the local Catholic Curia and the monthly KOSCIOL NAD ODRA I BALTYKIEM [The Church on the Odra and the Baltic], the organ of the Szczecin-Kamien Catholic Diocese.

Kazimierz Kutz, the distinguished film and stage director, was appointed editor in chief of Krakow Television on 10 February. He has worked in Krakow for the last three years. Kutz does not belong to any party and in his own words "is genetically a nonpolitical animal." Kutz has appointed Artur Janicki as his deputy. Janicki has worked in television since 1961 and has been "Solidarity's" press spokesman for Lesser Poland. Kutz has set himself the goal of eliminating the old style of news presentation and reshaping the arts programs. Witold Wasniewski, Kutz's predecessor, is currently on holiday and no decision has been made about his future.

The newly appointed director of Poznan Radio and Television is Marian Szymanski, a technical director of Poznan Radio in 1980 and the director of the Television Technical Equipment Workshop from 1983 to 1988. Later, he worked for a private company. The editor of television programming is Jacek Kubiak, chairman of the local branch of the recently reconstituted Association of Polish Journalists. Kubiak lectures in Polish Language and Literature at Poznan's Adam Mickiewicz University and is currently preparing his doctoral thesis. He has not worked in television before, but he is a correspondent of the Viennese periodical PROFIL.

In January, the 36-year-old Marian Terlecki, a graduate of the Higher Film and Television School, replaced the 60-year old Stanislaw Celichowski as editor in chief of Gdansk Television. Celichowski is retiring. Terlecki has worked in television since 1976. During 1980-81, he was "Solidarity" representative at the television center. After 13 December 1981, he went into hiding and was active in the underground opposition. In 1985 he was arrested and sentenced for filming without authorization. In 1987 he became editor of "Video Studio," produced for the Gdansk Catholic diocese. He has produced several reports and documentary films, for example, "Paniko," "A Story About the Events of December 1980, and "Kisiela." In 1987 his film "Father Jerzy," earned him first prize at the Festival of Religious Films in Niepokalanow, and a Grand Prix at the Skop Film Festival in France. Terlecki has also written several books. He is now writing a book on his experiences in Rakowiecka Prison.

Leszek Majewski, a journalist with 30 years of service, is to remain director of Katowice Television. He was appointed in 1988. Before his appointment he edited "Miners Program," "The Voice of the Katowice Steelworks," and produced programs for Katowice radio.

The editor in chief of Katowice Television is Wojciech Sarnowicz, a journalist who was appointed to the post last November. His professional credentials were not investigated in 1982. He is regarded as highly competent and his colleagues agree that the appointment has been a success. Sarnowicz replaced Miroslaw Slomczynski, who was forced by his colleagues to leave because of his involvement in 1982 in the investigations of his colleagues' professional credentials.

The director of Lodz Television is Marek Markiewicz. Markiewicz worked in television till 1980. He was dismissed soon after and for the next five years earned his living as a taxi driver. At his fourth attempt he was

allowed to begin legal training (all his previous applications were rejected by the ministry of justice on the grounds that the applicant was unable to provide sufficient guarantees that he would be able to carry out his professional duties competently). On 1 December 1989, Markiewicz passed his professional law examinations and on that same day Drawicz offered him the post of director. His predecessor, Andrzej Hampel, resigned earlier and is presently editor in chief of GLOS PORANNY.

It is difficult to make any comments on these personnel changes. The right to comment lies with the viewers who daily have the opportunity to view the programs produced under the new management.

Government, SDRP Discuss Old PZPR Property

LD2103050890 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—The government Commission for Political Parties' Property chaired by Minister Aleksander Hall and the chief council of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] Commission for Property of the Former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] headed by SDRP Central Executive Committee member, Treasurer Wieslaw Huszcza held another joint meeting here today.

Discussed were problems of the former PUWP's [PZPR] debts to the PKO State Savings Bank and SDRP claims by virtue of costs sustained for construction and building of the former PUWP taken over now by the State Treasury.

The governmental commission confirmed its positive stand on providing the SDRP with adequate offices for carrying on their statutory activity.

Guided by the law on state archives, the government commission considered it necessary for the archives of the former PUWP to be taken over by the state archives network.

The commission opined that the publishing and printing potential of the RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" publishers should be limited and assessed negatively the hasty and unlawful personnel changes made in the RSW recently. The commission will submit adequate conclusions on that to the Council of Ministers.

The SDRP commission refused to sign an agreement on all of the discussed questions.

Ethnic Antipathies Unleashed in Transylvania

Reports on Attacks

LD2103001190 Budapest MTI in English 2245 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Tirgu Mures, March 19 (MTI)—In a demonstration organized by the Vatra Romaneasca in Tirgu Mures on March 19, the crowd rushed the headquarters of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania [HDFR], smashed the windows and doors, and beat those inside. The demonstrating peasants were carried to the town from the provinces by lorries.

Despite the repeated calls for help, the Army and the police did not intervene and did nothing to suppress the anti-Hungarian actions. In the course of the day, the demonstrators smashed all Hungarian inscriptions, even the street plates, in the town. The crowd shouted anti-Hungarian slogans. The Hungarian students had to escape from their hostel.

Phone calls asking for help arrived in the Bucharest headquarters of the HDFR and the Hungarian Embassy. The HDFR leaders asked immediate help from the Provisional National Unity Council and the government. According to MTI's Bucharest correspondent, no help was rendered during the day.

In the evening, the demonstrators intruded into the building of Radio Tirgu Mures and demanded to stop the Hungarian broadcast.

In the wake of the Tirgu Mures pogrom, the population of some villages in Szekelyland started to organize voluntary actions in help of the Hungarian minority in Tirgu Mures.

Several HDFR leaders, including Andras Suto, president of the Mures county organization, were gravely assaulted. Mr. Suto, an eminent writer, was taken to hospital with broken ribs.

In spite of what has happened, the federation called upon its members to display self-constraint, refrain from organization and keep their self-possession since violence should not call forth a violent reaction.

Radio Chief Comments

LD2003163190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Studio interview with the head of radio, Sandor Gaspar, by Reda Sipos and unidentified announcer in Tirgu Mures, on 20 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A general strike has been declared for today in Tirgu Mures. What were the events of this morning, and what really did happen yesterday and how? We, Reda Sipos and myself, asked these questions of the head of Romanian radio in Tirgu Mures, Sandor Gaspar.

[Begin recording] [Gaspar] Here in the studio the decision was already waiting for me of the Odorheiu Secuiesc [Udvarhely] and Sfintu Gheorghe [sepsiszentgyoergy] of the RMDSZ [Federation of Magyars in Romania] in which they warn that they have organized a strike for between 1200 and 1300 [1100 and 1200 GMT] in the towns inhabited by Szeklers. In Tirgu Mures, the crowd was gathering since the morning waiting for the RMDSZ, the organization defending the interests of the Hungarians, to state their position. When they decided that the statements were being delayed they spontaneously and on their own initiative, headed en masse—I must emphasize en masse—toward the center. Members of the county council, who were of Hungarian nationality, called upon the population to behave quietly and not march on the streets, because they would be subjected to provocations.

Every statement asked for the urgent investigation of the events of yesterday and for calling those found guilty to account. They regard as responsible the leaders of the county and municipality who either did not know or did not want to prevent yesterday's events. There were no disturbances today of any kind in Tirgu Mures; the crowd is behaving in a well-disciplined, exemplary manner. Virtually everybody from the factories marched out, and at present in the main square the crowd is waiting in the belief that National Unity Council President Ion Iliescu will be arriving in Tirgu Mures shortly.

[Unidentified interviewer] When you talk about crowds, are you thinking equally of Romanians and Hungarians?

[Gaspar] The majority of them are Hungarians. The Romanian civil population of Tirgu Mures did not take part in yesterday's events. The vandalism was committed by the riffraff brought in from the countryside.

[Unidentified interviewer] We heard news that these men were not even sober.

[Gaspar] Yes, this is also true.

[Unidentified interviewer] What kind of weapons did they use to attack?

[Gaspar] Scythes, and threshing tools.

[Unidentified interviewer] What vehicles were used to transport them?

[Gaspar] Trucks and buses.

[Unidentified interviewer] Is it possible to know who owns these vehicles?

[Gaspar] I do not know yet.

[Unidentified interviewer] Do you have any suspicions as to who organized this?

[Gaspar] Suspicions I have. Evidence I do not have.

[Unidentified interviewer] Is it possible to identify the two or three villages from where the men were brought?

[Gaspar] From around the middle region of the Maros, let us say around the region of (Regen).

[Unidentified interviewer] The situation in Tirgu Mures at present is that the crowd is in the center of the town?

[Gaspar] Yes.

[Unidentified interviewer] How many people can be there, approximately?

[Gaspar] Some said 8,000. I have also heard of 100,000—which is obviously an exaggeration. [end recording]

County PNUC Assesses Events

AU2003160090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] ROMPRES news agency received from the Mures County Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] the following statement:

Fellow citizens: The Mures PNUC condemns the violent actions of the past few days in Tirgu Mures Municipality, which started with those in the morning of 16 March and culminated with the actions of the afternoon and evening of 19 March. As a result of these unwanted events, several people were violently attacked and certain headquarters of political parties have been destroyed. The legal bodies are carrying out an investigation in order to establish the cause for such unwanted manifestations and find the people who are to blame for such deplorable actions of violence and destruction.

This is a crucial moment in the political and social life of Mures County, and we insistently appeal to reason, patience, and understanding.

We ask you to trust in the capability of the PNUC to conduct and solve all issues of social, political, and cultural life of this county. Please, display calm and do not forget that in these lands, Romanians and Hungarians have lived in understanding and have suffered alike and succeeded in maintaining the best of relations and forging a common civilization.

In order to avoid a repetition and escalation of these actions, which jeopardizes not only the economic and political stability of the county, but also the life and the security of its inhabitants, the Mures County PNUC has decided on:

1. An immediate investigation of the persons who are responsible for the actions of vandalism, who organize such actions, incite hatred and violence, and who generated the state of tension and instability.

2. The urgent convening of an extraordinary session of the Mures County PNUC and the replacement or removal of all persons who have proved to be incompetent within this council.

3. The examination of the activity of the police organs and the setting up of a framework that ensure stability, calm, order, and peace throughout Mures County.

4. The PNUC condemns all nationalist-chauvinistic propaganda and calls on the Romanian, Hungarian, and German population to maintain the mutual, traditional respect that existed among these nationalities and calls on them not to allow themselves be manipulated by extremist elements.

The declaration is signed by the Executive Bureau: Mr. Karoly Kiraly, Ion Schieciu, Valer Galea, (?Guenter Teller), Octavian Plesa, Victor (?Maniu), Dorel Pop, Attila Jakabfi, Gyorgy Virag, Mihai Groza, Aurel Florian, Dumitru Nagy-Micu, Karoly Voros, Dumitru Pop, Zoltan Kormossy, and Walter Lutz.

Parties Decry Extremism

AU2003162990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1456 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Reactions to the Events in Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—The Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party: In no way can the Magyar extremists come off victorious through their chauvinistic aims, says a statement in "DREPTATEA." Their goal is to divert attention, irrespective of ethnicity, from the major imperative of the fight for the establishment and consolidation of democracy. The events have nothing in common with the honest Magyars in Romania as they are an outcome of the acts committed by irresponsible elements that are handled by persons who want to create confusion and confrontation in the country. The statement requests all the Magyar organizations to desolidarize with them.

The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania: We have nothing in common with the provocations to worsening relations between the Romanian people and the Magyar minority, shows a statement printed by "ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO." They originate in publications edited by extremist circles of the Magyar emigration in the West and disseminated here in the Romanian. We do not agree with the irredentist demands they contain. Behind such provocations there are the reactionary forces of the past, the unique goal of which is destabilization. The statement mentions that, from the very beginning, the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania stated in all its documents that it wished to make its future within a renewed and democratic Romania, and that it was ready to cooperate with any social and political grouping which intends to build up democracy in Romania. The document deplores the fact that, despite numerous invitations to dialogue, the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union evaded it, showing chauvinistic, nationalistic and extremist attitudes more than once. The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania has to regretfully note that there are forces for which the revolution ended once democratic rights had been proclaimed for the majority

that do not want to step forward, contesting the democratic rights of the minorities, of the Magyars in the first place. The statement reproaches the government and the miniparliament that they did not react to the steps taken by the union along this line, giving free scope to extremist, nationalistic and chauvinistic shows. Considering the rights and liberties of the Romanian majority as well as of the Magyar and other minorities as sacred, the Magyar Democratic Union reiterates its determination to exclusively promote reasonable and peaceful solutions, calling on its members not to let themselves provoked nor to yield before anybody in defending their democratic gains.

PNUC Session Examines Mayhem

AU2003170390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] is currently meeting in a special session to examine the situation created in various localities in Transylvania, particularly in Tirgu Mures, due to actions that took place there in recent days and that are a source of true concern among the population.

Thus, the PNUC and the Romanian Government are carefully following events in a number of Transylvanian localities. Regardless of their motives, these actions—with their possible immediate and long-term consequences—are considered as inappropriate and as running counter to the spirit of understanding that must prevail among the whole country's population and to the people's and country's interests. In view of all this, further appeals are made to reason, tolerance, and a constructive attitude, in order to overcome existing misunderstandings and find normal and legal ways of reconciliation.

Iliescu Visits Wounded Hungarian

AU2003171190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Aside from the devastation of the headquarters of some political parties and political groups—which are regrettable actions from all viewpoints—the escalation of the undesirable events in Tirgu Mures has also resulted in the wounding of certain citizens. As announced, among those who suffered during yesterday's events in Tirgu Mures was the well-known writer Andras Suto, who had to be urgently hospitalized. This morning, Mr. Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] president, visited Mr. Andras Suto at the ophthalmological clinic of the Central Military Hospital in Bucharest, where he was brought in on an emergency basis last night.

On this occasion, Mr. Iliescu again expressed his regret for the events in Tirgu Mures and emphasized that such actions can only exacerbate disquiet and tension among the population, foment feuding, and deviate the attention of the authorities from pressing current problems of concern for our country's present and future. Mr. Iliescu expressed his high regards for Mr. Andras Suto and wished him a speedy recovery.

The distinguished writer thanked Mr. Iliescu for his concern and for the measures taken to put him in a specialized clinic in Bucharest.

1,000 Romanians Attack People

LD2003182190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] A fresh report has just come in, and it is not really good. In Tirgu Mures [marosvasarhely] some 1,000 Romanian nationalists, armed with scythes and sticks, have attacked the local headquarters of the Democratic Association of Magyars [RMDSZ] in Romania. (Oedoen Vitray), Bucharest spokesman of the Magyar organization, said that according to most recent reports, the crowd at present has placed the Tirgu Mures headquarters under siege. The Romanian Army has also closed off the roads leading into the city, in order to prevent the appearance of further extremist groups in the city.

In other parts of Tirgu Mures the crowd, which was transported again by lorries and buses, and which was rather drunk and stirred up, is beating Magyars who can be found on the streets with hatchets and pitchforks. According to the first reports, an enormous number of injured people were taken to hospitals, and people who were beaten until they were covered with blood are lying on the main square, waiting for medical assistance.

Military Chief 'Regrets' Unrest

LD2003182590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The Romanian chief of staff has said that he regrets very much the events in Tirgu Mures, and he will do his utmost to prevent similar incidents. Vasile Ionel was telephoned by Hungarian Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, and he was asked for information. The Romanian chief of staff said that on the basis of photographs, he expects to be able to identify the hooligans who gravely maltreated the leaders of the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania. Ferenc Karpati, when telling MTI about the conversation, said that the Romanian military leader was unable to give a substantive answer to the question of why the Army was not deployed against the extremists in Tirgu Mures. The Hungarian defense minister went on to say that he had wanted to transport the gravely injured Andras Suetoe to Budapest on Monday night, but it was not possible to land at Tirgu Mures airport.

Troops May Move In

AU2003180790 Paris AFP in English 1754 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 20 (AFP)—Renewed violence between Romanians and ethnic Hungarians flared

Tuesday in the Transylvanian town of Tirgu Mures, where more people were hurt, and troops were to be sent in, a senior Romanian government official said. Karoly Kiraly, vice-president of the executive bureau of the provisional council of national unity, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the troops from garrisons in Transylvania were being sent in to "limit the number of casualties from the clashes." "There are injured people," Mr. Kiraly added, without giving details.

Several sources said that fighting broke out around 6 p.m. (1600 GMT), after a demonstration by tens of thousands of ethnic Hungarians—100,000 according to some sources—passed off without incident earlier in the day.

PNUC Releases Statement

AU2003200090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] We now present a statement from the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]:

The PNUC Executive Bureau took note with concern about the serious events that started on 15 March 1990 in a number of localities in Transylvania. These events culminated with acts of violence in Tirgu Mures Municipality on 16 and 19 March 1990, during which several persons were injured and the headquarters of some political parties were destroyed.

The PNUC Executive Bureau considers that such manifestations, as well as any kind of extremist, nationalistic, and chauvinistic demonstrations, regardless of their origin, can destabilize Romania's domestic and international situation, and runs counter to the values and goals of the December revolution. We start from the principle of respect for the independence, integrity, and unity of the Romanian national state—a principle that the PNUC Executive Bureau considers as statutory—and we consider that any kind of extremism can only serve interests that are alien to all of us, Romanians and Hungarians alike.

A state of confusion has been created by certain actions that exceeded the framework of natural claims, by excesses committed during the process of reorganizing the educational system, and by intentions to promote economic, administrative, and cultural isolation; all this has been received with concern by the majority Romanian population. Due to these actions, the state of tension, mistrust, and mutual suspicion was exacerbated, thus seriously harming the dialogue, which is the only way to implement the ideals of the revolution, including the fulfillment of the rights and freedoms of the national minorities.

While understanding the legitimate aspirations of the national minorities in Romania, including the Hungarian one, which declared their loyalty to the Romanian state, the PNUC Executive Bureau states that these aspirations can only be fulfilled within the general framework of our society's democratization, in a climate of mutual understanding, cooperation, and responsible dialogue, by excluding any kind of privilege or discrimination.

It was decided to set up a central inquiry commission by the government and the PNUC Executive Bureau to examine the causes of the disturbances and find solutions aimed at restoring public order and quietude and identifying the persons found guilty of the current incidents, so that they can be called to account. This commission will begin its activity immediately.

The statement expresses the government's firm determination to ensure the exact implementation of legal provisions concerning public quietude; it also emphasizes the responsibility devolving on local bodies to prevent any nationalistic and chauvinistic manifestations as well as new acts of vandalism.

Condemning all acts of violence, regardless of their motives or initiators, the PNUC Executive Bureau appeals for calm, responsibility, and restraint in expressing and promoting various viewpoints. This is an essential requirement of the current political moment, the only one capable of placing the country's political life on a fundamentally new basis and ensuring the development of an authentic democratic regime, which can guarantee the fulfillment of the aspirations and rights of all Romania's citizens.

The PNUC Executive Bureau states that it will take firm steps to solve problems, ease tensions, and ensure the observance of the rights of all inhabitants. We insistently call upon you to return peacefully and orderly to your homes, concludes the statement of the PNUC Executive Bureau.

Some Demonstrators 'Drunk'

AU2003202290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Demonstrations in Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—According to information supplied by the General Police Inspectorate, incidents developed between Romanian demonstrators and citizens of Hungarian nationality at Tirgu Mures in the afternoon of 19 March. While listening to speeches of members of the county's Provisional National Unity Council and other political personalities, one Romanian demonstrator was hit in the head with a knife and was taken to hospital by the police. After that incident 60-70 ethnic Hungarian demonstrators locked themselves in the head offices of political parties. It was then that, from the inner yard of the building and from the first floor, they started hurling stones and bricks at the Romanian demonstrators down in the street. The order-keeping troops began to take the local ethnic Hungarians out of the building. Another group of Romanian demonstrators

who came from the settlements of Deda, Hodac, Ibanesti, Rusii Munti, of which some were drunk, carried sticks, forks [pitchforks] and axes. In spite of the measures that were taken, that group forced its way inside, storming the branch offices of the National Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Democratic Union. The police only managed to protect the branch offices of the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party and of the Association of Former Political Detainees.

Following the incidents at the headquarters of the political parties and in various parts of the city of Tirgu Mures (according to the information we have today, 20 March, at 2.30 p.m.) 22 persons were injured, of which four are in hospital. Writer Andras Suto is among them.

An operative team including local police and prosecuting workers were sent to the site for investigations. Security measures were taken by the police. Twelve of the persons involved in the incidents have been identified. Teams were formed that travelled to the demonstrators' places of residence in order to start legal proceedings against them.

Vatra Romaneasca Leader Comments

AU2003212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Reactions to Events in Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—Radu Ceontea, president of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, stated to a ROMPRES reporter that the Monday demonstration in Tirgu Mures was "a spontaneous popular revolt, as the patience of the Romanians in the Mures Valley and Tara Gurgiului [The Giurgiu Country] was stretched to its limit." "The outburst of yesterday originated in numerous and painful events that started on December 26, 1989, in the excessive and ultimative claims, in the brutalities that culminated with the offences in Satu Mare and the devastation of a chemist's shop in Tirgu Mures." Of the "blasphemies that brought tension between Romanians and Magyars" Mr. Ceontea mentioned the introduction of irredentist books, the defiling of the statues of Avram Iancu in Tirgu Mures and Nicolae Balcescu in Sovata, the flying on March 15 of Hungarian flags at Sovata, Fintinele and Tirgu Mures, the tendency of school separation. "This does not mean that we approve of what happened yesterday," he added, showing that the only action organized on Monday by Vatra Romaneasca was a cultural event.

Commission Investigates Unrest

AU2003223890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] We now present a decision of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]:

Article 1. On 20 March 1990 an inquiry commission is being set up to investigate the deeds committed during events that took place in Tirgu Mures Municipality on 16, 19, and 20 March 1990.

Article 2. The inquiry commission consists of: Ion Minzatu, PNUC vice president; Mihai Draganescu, deputy prime minister of the government; Nicolae S. Dumitru, member of the PNUC Government; Nicolae Radu, member of the PNUC Executive Bureau; Mihai Sora, minister of education; Colonel General Nicolae Eftimescu, deputy minister of national defense; Major General Corneliu Diamandescu, deputy minister of interior; Attila Verestoy, PNUC member; Nicolae Cochnescu, director at the Prosecutor's Office.

Article 3. Within 14 days the commission will present its conclusions and proposals to the PNUC Executive Bureau.

This decision is signed by PNUC President Mr. Ion Iliescu.

Stanculescu Appeals for Calm

AU2003210690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] We now present a statement by Mr. Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, national defense minister:

[Begin Stanculescu recording] Citizens of Romania, retrograde elements hostile to the values and ideals of our revolution are trying in various ways to set at loggerheads the Romanian population and the Hungarian nationality population from the ancient Romanian land of Ardeal in order to create confusion and uncertainty.

In the name of the Romanian nation and its martyrs, we call on the population of the Ardeal forefathers not to follow the incitement to feuding and [word indistinct]), to immediately end personal vendettas, and to refrain from any reckless actions so that life in the respective localities can speedily resume its normal course.

The recently begun process of Army democratization contributed to [word indistinct] and stimulating the creative ability of the Romanian Army, and led to the development and strengthening of the unity of action and combat capability of military units. The Romanian Army is currently stronger and more united than ever before and is firmly determined to faithfully serve the people and defend the security of our free fatherland, Romania. [end recording]

Peasants Party Blames Hungarians

AU2003223490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2020 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Esteemed listeners, in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures, a few minutes ago Romanian Free Television presented the position of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) [NPPCD], as read by Mr. Ioan Lup, general secretary of this political formation.

[Begin Lup recording] Romanian citizens, the Romanian state is faced with a serious situation, caused by extremist and provocateur elements from among the Hungarian minority who are violating their duty as Romanian citizens. To this, one should add the presence of certain Hungarian citizens who entered Romanian territory and resorted to committing serious acts against the elementary rules concerning relations between countries.

In these circumstances, Mr. Ion Iliescu made a most surprising statement on Romanian Television the evening of 19 March 1990: He blamed the Romanian population unilaterally. This statement led to an increase in the destabilization, which can have unforeseeable consequences. Consequently, the NPPCD demands: the immediate convening of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] in a permanent extraordinary session; the presentation by the government of a report on the situation in Tirgu Mures and the measures taken; an explanation from Mr. Ion Iliescu in connection with his statement; the immediate evacuation of Hungarian citizens present in Transylvania who are involved in the disturbances; and the placing of the Romanian Army on alert.

The NPPCD calls on all its members and the whole population of the country, Romanians or Hungarians, to act with calm and responsibility in order to settle the conflict and create conditions for observing the rights of all citizens, without discrimination and privileges. [end recording]

Magyars Demand 'Punishment'

AU2003224790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2048 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Reactions to Events in Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—The Magyar Democratic Union in Romania reproaches the country's leadership for having ignored its warnings, which "allowed the extremist elements to gain ground."

A declaration signed by the Union's presidium and conveyed today to the Romanian news agency ROMPRES shows that the events that started on March 19 are "a proof of the escalation of an orientation of national extremism."

The demonstration in Tirgu Mures, turned into an orgy, the storming in our branch centre, the manhandling of its members, among whom writer Andras Suto, president of the branch, in the presence of the bodies whose mission is to protect public order—are acts hard to term" shows the declaration. [quotation marks as received] "For that reason, the Hungarians see their life and future in danger, they are stricken by the fear which they felt all along the period of dictatorship." The declaration "firmly demands the country's political leadership to severely investigate" the unfolding of the events and the punishment of the culprits. "For those "who rise" against the Hungarians "who link their whole life and future to the destiny of the people and of Romania" "can no longer be tolerated among us, as they are enemies of the people and of the country" the declaration shows. [quotation marks as received]

The declaration accuses the Vatra Romaneasca Union of "nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia" and demands that that organization "which dishonoured our common sacrifice of blood, defiled our revolution" be immediately disbanded and its leaders be subject to law. Or else, the declaration cautions, "the country can be pushed to the precipice of a devastating civil war" that would "divorce it from the civilized world."

The declaration urges all "our Romanian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Czech, German, Lipovan, Turk, Greek, Armenian, Serb, Bulgarian, Jew and Romani brothers" to sustain the request of the Union, and the Hungarians "not to let themselves provoked," "to be reasonable, show confidence in our political leadership."

Army Reinforcements Planned

LD2003214790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received the following report from the news editorial department:

The Executive Committee of the Romanian Provisional Council of National Unity decided at its evening emergency session to send Army reinforcements to Tirgu Mures.

This has been announced by General Stanculescu, minister of national defense, himself on Bucharest Television. As he said, the Army units are directed to the Tirgu Mures because elements hostile to the Romanian revolution are trying to incite conflict [viszalyt szitani] between the Romanians and the Magyars.

Magyars Declare Strike

AU2003213590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2105 GMT 20 Mar 90

["Incidents in Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—A big meeting took place on March 20 in the square in front of the Mures County Mayor's Office in Tirgu Mures, in reply to the Monday demonstration by which the Romanian nationality population demanded the dismissal from the county's leadership of persons of Hungarian nationality, considered to be responsible for the tense atmosphere created in the county of late. Thousands of Hungarian nationals in economic units declared strike, gathering in the square.

As stated Mr. Laszlo Borbely, secretary of the Mures branch of the Magyar Democratic Union in Romania, the demonstrators request an investigation to establish who were guilty of the vandallic and brutal acts of March

19, as well as the dismissal from the leading bodies of the county and Tirgu Mures City of persons of Romanian nationality considered to be blamed for the tension in the county's socio-economic life, the banning of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, the discussion and elucidation of all problems worrying now both the Romanian and Hungarian population.

There were incidents between demonstrators and other citizens gathered at the site of the demonstration in the afternoon.

Radio Reports 6 Dead

AU2103084790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Half an hour ago we contacted Tirgu Mures from where Mr. Ion Scrieciu, first vice president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] of Tirgu Mures, reported the following:

[Scrieciu] The Provisional Council Bureau has held discussions with delegates of the demonstrators on their demands, and then made them known to all the demonstrators. During the discussions, extremist elements surrounded the demonstrators and attacked them with stones and glass [word indistinct].

The outcome of these incidents is as follows: 294 injured, 38 seriously injured, and six dead.

These reprovable acts are firmly condemned by the Mures County PNUC.

In the coming days, the legal authorities will investigate those who are to be blamed for these serious acts of vandalism.

The Army intervened at 2300 [2100 GMT] to protect the demonstrators, and on 21 March, substantial reinforcements were received and the defense of the headquarters and of major targets in the city was ensured.

A state of emergency has been declared in Tirgu Mures.

[Announcer] We have been informed that at this time, relative calm reigns in Tirgu Mures. No incidents have been reported. The military formations deployed in the area have things under control.

Deputy Minister on Events

AU2103103090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0922 GMT 21 Mar 90

["Political Life—Events in Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1990—Against all efforts, about one hundred ethnic Hungarians still occupied the central square this morning, said Gen. Corneliu Diamandescu, deputy minister of the interior, in Tirgu Mures.

The situation is relatively calm in the city now, he told a ROMPRES editor. "Unfortunately, the police are insufficient. We plan a closer cooperation with armed forces units".

General Diamandescu also said that late last night violence continued mainly in the central area, notwithstanding the operative measures that had been taken. As a result of extremist actions taken against a nationalistic-chauvinistic background, many persons were beaten up, and about 200 were injured, of which 65 were hospitalized. Some of them sustained serious injuries. There are two so far unidentified fatalities.

Great damage was also done especially at and around the Grand Hotel which was stormed, the general said.

Weekly Blames Intolerance

AU2103111590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 21 Mar 90

["Political Life: Fear of Violence"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/3/1990—The 18 February demonstration in Victory Square which started peacefully against Securitate, but degenerated into an explosion of violence and ended, as is known, in the forced entrance of some demonstrators into the headquarters of the government, devastating it, continues to be the topic of commentaries and articles in various newspapers and reviews.

Referring to the event, the liberal weekly "EUROPA" runs an extensive commentary under the heading "what happened on 18 February?" Upholding that the demonstrators' attack on the Palace has a general as well as a specific explanation. The former refers to the disputable legitimacy of political power in the country, because the communist dictatorship was not overthrown by parliamentary means, like in the neighbour countries, but by the people's insurrection which created a power vacuum filled in by the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council which also included the Romanian dissidence. The break-off between a part of this dissidence and the group of former party dignitaries, dissidents as well (the six signatories to the letter and Mr Ion Iliescu) reached a climax when the NSF decided on 23 January to participate in the elections as a political movement. The "historical" parties (National Peasants' Party, National Liberal Party and Democratic Social Party) were to react to that decision on 28 January. The crisis thus created was to lessen in early February when the Provisional National Unity Council was set up through the extension of the NSFC's structures. Not even this Provisional Council could fully solve the matter, that is the legitimacy of political power, though it better represents political options in a transitory period.

The latter refers to the Securitate problem that was approached too discreetly in comparison with [what) was done in East Germany, for instance. So, the people's

expectations were not fulfilled in this respect, which led to suspicions and intolerance on the part of those who put their life at stake during the revolution and the 18 February demonstration in which not only extremists but also hooligans took part. Another specific cause was that the guards in front of the Victory Palace, paradoxically fearing violence as they did not want to be compared with the dictator's repression troops, let violent hooligans break into the building.

In conclusion, "EUROPA" shows, the events were an outcome of real tension in Romania society, and the provocative groups took that to their advantage and did nothing but mounted it.

Guards Close Off Tirgu Mures

LD2103115590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] A report has just come in this very second: Hungarian travelers coming back from Transylvania have confirmed that security formations have entirely closed off Tirgu Mures. They told representatives of the border guard at the Artand border crossing that a strong police cordon is guarding every road leading to the city.

County PNUC Calls for Calm

AU2103132490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] In the interest of restoring calm and in order to facilitate the resumption of a normal activity, the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] Executive Bureau of Mures County solemnly calls on the whole population of the county and on the leaderships of the Hungarian Democratic Union and of the Vatra Romaneasca National Union to stop demonstrations and meetings in the area of Tirgu Mures Municipality and in the other localities beginning today, 21 March 1990, 1500 [1300 GMT].

An appeal has also been made to prevent strikes in vital sectors in order to ensure public supplies, including medical ones. Deep sympathy is expressed for the victims of the sad events of the past few days and all residents of Mures County are asked to use their reason to reestablish the good understanding, that is so necessary for all of us.

Free Democratic Youth Party Introduces Itself

AU1903162190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 19 Mar 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves—The Free Democratic Youth Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The Free Democratic Youth Party, which is open to all young people, no matter their nationality, race, religion, sex and profession, considers that the gathering of the youth as a whole within a political force to represent their social and political, cultural and ideological interests, is a necessity that stems from the new political orientation in Romania after the December 1989 revolution.

Under its programme, the party militates, inter alia, for the promotion of direct democracy, the ensurance of pluralist administration, openness to the new, democracy in all areas of the political, social and cultural life and the cancellation of age criteria in the promotion to industrial and administrative managerial posts.

The party also works for gradual economic decentralization and the promotion of a market economy, for cooperation with foreign capital in forms which are advantageous to the state and for the resettlement of farmers, whose organization should be the fruit of their own decision making.

With a view to ensuring jobs for young people and prevent unemployment from mounting among the youth, the party is for the retirement of all the people, who can legally go on pensions.

Furthermore, it thinks that the students should be offered opportunities to work on a seasonal or permanent basis to add to their scholarship-derived incomes and that young people should be granted scholarships by the state and by enterprises to be able to get trained abroad.

The party is also for cooperation with youth organizations in the world in the form of direct dialogue and cultural exchanges, for the creation of a legal framework for maternal and child care, for the free exercise of religious faith.

New Weeklies EUROPA, WEEKEND Released

AU1903180690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Mass Media—Another Weekly: EUROPA"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The first issue of the EUROPA weekly (liberal) has appeared in Bucharest.

It opens with an "inner profile" of the president of the National Liberal Party, Radu Cimpeanu, contributed by the periodical's director, Aurelian Pavelescu.

It contains political essays on democracy and liberalism, on the 18 February events in Victory Square, and a first chapter of Prof. Giovanni Sartori's "Theory of Democracy".

In its cultural column, an article from "EL PAIS" is published under the heading "A Vast Internal Exile Is the Legacy of the Dictatorship", along with an interview with historian Andrei Pippidi who was a member of a Romanian delegation that visited Hungary early in February, and an article on Andrei Serban, the new director of Bucharest's National Theatre.

WEEKEND, a supplement to the TINERETUL LIBER, the first issue of which has been brought out, is intended as "a richly illustrated magazine that is fun to read".

Further Details on Ceausescu Aides' Appeal

AU1903180190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1606 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Justice—Appeal of the Four in the Bucharest Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—Monday, 19 March, the Supreme Court of Justice, the Military Section, started judging the appeal of Emil Bobu, Tudor Postelnicu, Manea Manescu as well as the appeal of the counsel for the defence of Ion Dinca, all of them sentenced to life imprisonment by the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal on 2 February 1990 for having committed genocide.

After the appellants' appeal was read and Ion Dinca confirmed he had assumed his lawyers' appeal, the court took cognizance of the requests formulated by the counsels for the defence who, claiming that the trial of the former dictator's four close associates was the first of the kind ever judged by the Romanian courts and that they lacked theoretical materials in the penal literature of this country which would facilitate a documented defence, hence necessitating a recourse to foreign sources, asked for another term.

The lawyers' request was sustained by the prosecutor.

On deliberating, the court found the request grounded and decided the postponement of the case for 23 April with a view to preparing the reasons for cassation. At the same time, the court obliged the counsels for the defence to submit the motives of cassation to the court at least seven days before the term set for the trial.

Iliescu Gives Statement on Election Campaign

AU1903214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Election Campaign To Start in Romania Soon: An Interview by Mr. Ion Iliescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The campaign for the May 20 parliamentary elections starts on March 20. With reference to that event in Romania's political life, to its importance for the success of the democratic process in the Romanian society, Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] stated the following to a ROMPRES reporter.

The election campaign and the May 20 elections are of outstanding importance for Romania's contemporary history. These are the first free elections, that proceed in special conditions, five months after the removal of the dictatorship.

As is known, the purpose of these elections is to establish a bicameral parliament the main task of which will be to draft the new constitution, so it will operate as a constituent assembly, ensuring new bases to Romania's political life.

Sure, the short period of time elapsed since the overthrow of the dictatorship has not allowed for the organization of the political life and of the political formations in normal conditions. Moreover, as it usually happens after such upheavals and transformation of the political life, we have been witnesses to the emergence of an inordinately big number of parties and political formations the programs of which are rather approximately established. Likewise, in point of organization, most of those formations are still visibly frail. Only a few parties have a more coherent organization, with better material and financial conditions, which makes at present the salient feature of the political life and election campaign.

The elections must conclude a first stage of this period of transition which is complex and not easy at all. As stressed before, the removal of a totalitarian regime may sometimes be done relatively fast. With us, this was actually done in a few days' time, in one day to be more precise. But the building of a genuine democratic regime and of a political life based on principles of political pluralism is a longer process which only starts with the elections. Hence, we are in an incipient stage of organization of the political life upon new bases in Romania. Therefore, the political responsibility of all those who firmly commit themselves to this process, organized in parties and other formations and generally to the Romanian political life, is very great. No doubt, the period before and after the elections will bring clarification and crystallization in the organization and political life and in the restructuring of the representative formations, of the various sectors and tendencies in the Romanian society. But, for all the transitional and somehow less defined character of this period, it is important that all responsible factors and all formations that commit themselves to the election campaign should approach it in a constructive spirit and ensure the normal unfolding of the election race, avoiding as much as possible all kind of violence so that the competition may be decent and urbane. As a matter of fact, it goes without saying that prevalent should be the confrontation of programs, of ideas, of political stands of the various formations, that should facilitate the dialogue with the electorate on the basic issues of every individual formation's program. Above all, the confrontation is supposed to allow for the electorate's free and purposeful option on the programs and their promoters that fit best the citizens' aspirations, requirements and wishes. As a matter of fact it is upon the unfolding of the election campaign that depends a most representative composition of the future parliament that has the mission to accomplish a work of great historic importance, has to lay foundations for the future development of the political life—as a basic instrument of general restructuring of the Romanian society, of its

economic and social bases, as well as of the spiritual life, of human relations in Romania.

UN Delegate Signs Protocol on Death Penalty

AU1903201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1914 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—Romania's charge d'affaires a.i. [ad interum] to the United Nations in New York signed in behalf of the Romanian Government the protocol abolishing the death penalty, endorsed by the UN General Assembly. Romania is the first state in Eastern Europe to have signed that international instrument.

'16-21' Association Set Up in Bucharest

AU2003110290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 20 Mar 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves—'16-21' Association"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—The "16-21" association has been set up in Bucharest. The name of this apolitical association symbolizes the beginning of the December revolution in Timisoara and Bucharest. "We have chosen these dates, showed Mr. Tiberius Liviu Tautu, member of the association vice-chairman of the Youth Organization of the CDNPP [Christian Democratic National Peasant Party], because the revolution has not come to an end yet, it continues, the period we are traversing being just one of its stages." The goal of this association is, as shown in its statute, the "reunion, by free, independent adhesion, of the participants in the 16-21 December 1989 revolution and has been set up to continue the fight for the materialization of the ideals of the revolutionaries, to assist the invalids and the families of the martyrs of the revolution, as well as to trace and punish those involved in the shooting of the revolutionaries. All the persons that took part in the revolution, irrespective of their political option, except those who have communist beliefs can be members of this association." "We do not accept in our association", stated Mr. Ioan Neamtu, member of the Steering Committee of the association, "persons compromised before and after the revolution before the public opinion. When applying each person will have to present a written story of his participation in the December Revolution".

Technical Situation of Merchant Fleet Viewed

AU2003120990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0846 GMT 20 Mar 90

["The Scope of Mystification: Will the Merchant Fleet Find the 'Land of Hope'?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1990—Under the above headline newspaper "ADEVARUL" brings to the forefront a question it considers highly stringent the technical state of the Romanian merchant fleet.

No one in the world, the newspaper reads, could afford not to use 32.9 percent of its active fleet for the sole reason that they cannot be employed for lack of on-time repairs and of spare parts.

Adding to this downright abnormal situation is also the fact that 6.2 percent of the vessels are to be taken out of use and scores of ships were abandoned.

Vessels with a capacity of roughly two million DWT stay idle in Agigea, Constanta and Mangalia instead of sailing and bringing in money for this country.

Explaining the causes behind like state of affairs the newspaper shows that one of them was the well-known "naval programme" of Ceausescu according to which ships were built at a hectic pace and, in most cases, they became unoperational right after their maiden voyage.

Another cause was the complete cancellation of loans both for newly-built ships and for repairs of others, including those bought by foreign partners or built under licence...

Here are expert suggestions for a way out of this state of affairs:

A rhythmical, supply of high-quality spare parts and high quality repairing works to be performed in large shipyards of this country where repairs should be a second basic activity;

An agreement on a priority programme for repairs abroad on ships that are responsible for imports to a large extent;

Imports of vital spare parts, according to the funds the government allots.

Celac Departs for Namibia Independence Festival

AU2003163190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1449 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac left for Windhoek to participate in the festivities marking the proclamation of Namibia's independence.

Diplomatic Relations With Namibia Established

AU2103111790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1990—The Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Namibia, acting in the spirit of the traditional relations of friendship existing between the two peoples and motivated by the desire to develop the cooperation between the two countries in al fields of common interest, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, as of March 21, 1990.

On Need to 'Replace Obsolete Economic Structures'

AU2003123790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0840 GMT 20 Mar 90

["The Economy—Recovering the Economy 'by Ourselves'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1990—The end the revolution put to a more-than-40-year uninterrupted communist rule calls for a way out of the vicious circle of economic Stalinism, for a comprehensive review of the outlook on economic development in Romania, shows Mr Ion Georgescu in his commentary "Economic Recovery," which "TRIBUNA ECONOMICA" runs in its "Dialogue" section.

Postwar Romania, which the allies left within the Soviet sphere of influence, had no alternative other than to espouse the development model of the Soviet state, surrounded by the anticommunist economic blockade, the author says. That was an autarchic model which led to economic crisis inside each socialist country and inside the socialist system as a whole. The external reflex of that model, an outcome of CMEA relations, was never commercial and never lacked political interference and inequity. Consequently, a unified market of the CMEA member countries could never be achieved.

The blood shed during the revolution calls for intransigence, for the recovery of decades lost in a few days, primarily by eliminating the old political structures and by creating political parties. It is time to replace obsolete economic structures, too, so that Romania may stay in the vanguard of East-European rebirth. Apparently, Greece and Spain already worry over a possible competition with Romania in tourism.

As yet, Romanian economists have not come out in the field with "the daring of political matadors," although they did understand the frightening damage the Leninist-type mass social experiments cause in the life of the peoples. "That is why, the author insists, any attempt at reverting to a number of economic judgments of perennial value, asserted with professionalism by Romanian economists of the prewar period, such as Vintila Bratianu's "By Ourselves" theory, which meant "the primacy of Romanian capital and of national interests," will be welcomed.

In ensuring an overall balance of the economy, the author opines, we should place emphasis on the growth of branches for which our country boasts real resources, such as agriculture, the food industry, tourism, the oil industry, services and the small industry, which can rapidly turn to good account the advantages offered by the free market. Moreover, the physical structure of the national income should be changed, in line with the structure of the demand solvable in the market, all while eliminating the stocks of production means and solving the consumer goods shortage.

The economic levers envisaged refer, inter alia, to the encouragement of private enterprises and of free initiative, the regulation of production in agriculture, the small industry and the budding private sector through the agency of prices, the differentiated employment of credits, the administration of the public sector of the economy according to a flexible, Western-type planning and the gradual passage to the convertibility of the leu, as the sole, ultimate standard of all economic activities, the Romanian ones included.

* New Law on Free Initiative Analyzed

90EB0341A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Mihai Ionescu: "Free Initiative: An Economic Reality"]

[Text] Experience around the world shows that under free market conditions the development of free initiative can lead to an increase in and a diversification of the range of products and services in the sectors of socioeconomic activity directly affecting the population. Decree-Law 54/1990 has been enacted to regulate the legal framework and conduct of organizations of economic activities based on free initiative precisely because of the ongoing development of the demand for such products and services. They are intended especially to meet the consumption needs of the public and the immediate and long-term economic requirements of efficient use of raw materials and intermediate product resources, primarily local ones, as well as the need for increasing workforce utilization. According to Article 17 of this decree-law, its provisions go into effect on 8 March, 30 days after its publication in the Official Monitor on 6 February 1990.

The main provisions of this piece of legislation are summarized below. These provisions will be dealt with at greater length in future issues of this publication.

What Units May Be Organized?

The decree-law and its implementing regulations (approved by Government Resolution No. 611) stipulate that four types of units may be organized by free initiative and only by citizens residing in Romania: a) Small enterprises with a maximum of 20 employees; b) profit making associations with a maximum of 10 members; c) family associations made up of the members of a family having a common household; d) and independent activities conducted by individuals on the basis of a permit in the area of services or to manufacture certain products.

Who Can Work in the New Units?

A person who, as an individual or in an association, organizes a small enterprise on his own initiative may hire as employees on the basis of an employment contract—the provisions of the Labor Code being complied with—individuals who are or are not employed by a state or cooperative unit or are members of a cooperative (the work is of course to be performed separately from the job

for which the individual is already employed), as well as pensioners, who are entitled to draw a second salary plus pension while they are employed. It should be noted that the wage level in privately owned units is established by joint agreement of the parties concerned, with no ceiling imposed on such wages.

The personnel employed in state and cooperative units may at the same time form private associations for production purposes, only if they engage in their activities outside the work schedule of the units by which they are employed. The same persons, as well as ones employed in small privately owned enterprises, are entitled to earn two incomes from two different jobs, on the basis of a permit.

Where Can Funds, Equipment, and Raw Materials Be Obtained?

The financial resources needed by any unit organized on the basis of free initiative are represented by the funds of the persons involved and by bank loans secured by collateral. Such financial resources may also be obtained from abroad, on the basis of a permit issued by the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

State and cooperative organizations which have available machinery, equipment, and plants may sell or lease them on the basis of a contract to units organized on the basis of free initiative. Raw and intermediate materials, spare parts for plants themselves, tools, and accessories needed for conducting the operations of privately owned units can be obtained directly from the manufacturers, individuals or corporations, state or cooperative, on the basis of a contract, at the legal prices, or in their absence at the prices agreed on by the parties. The necessary equipment, plant and machinery, tools, devices, raw and intermediate materials, and accessories may also be imported with privately owned funds.

What Is the Price and Rate System?

The products and services provided by units organized on the basis of free initiative will be offered at freely agreed upon prices and rates, with no restrictions.

* Opposition Views on Coalition Government

90EB0342A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ioan Timoftei: "Is a Coalition Government the Solution for the Future?"]

[Text] Just how polarized is the current Romanian political scene? Can we say that voters are divided among 51 political factions now that the 51st party has been registered? To what extent will the time remaining before the 20 May elections—unless, of course, they are postponed again—allow the election platforms to be assimilated by the largely amorphous body of the electorate? Even if the FSN [National Salvation Front] shoud win a majority, it might, with an opposition caught up in the process of organization, claim the right to govern by itself without risking the accusation of grabbing a monopoly on power. Questions, questions.

It may be no accident that precisely such questions—not, we hope, because of any purely electoral considerations—have impelled Mr. Ion Iliescu, the FSN chairman, to state in an interview granted to ROMANIA LIBERA that, regardless of the results of the balloting, "the form of government will impose a coalition." "The most realistic approach," he pointed out, "is to form a multiparty coalition to govern the country," since the position of the majority of the political parties, including the FSN, is too weak to allow any one of them to seize power.

In addition, over the historically brief period between the wars when it was possible to hold democratic elections, the practice followed was that of increasing the mandates of a party receiving 40 percent of the votes, on the basis of a system of "bonus points." In the last free elections, however, which were held in December 1937 and in which 13 nationwide parties and several less important groups took part, no party reached this 40 percent figure. Consequently, as was pointed out in the February issue of the weekly MICROMAGAZIN printed in Romanian in New York, a series of major troubles began which took Romania from the royal dictatorship to that of Antonescu, and from it, with Soviet troops in the country and because of the well-known repressions, to the Communist dictatorship. Of course, we cannot equate what happened more that 50 years ago with the current situation. Since that time Romanian society has for one thing undergone radical social changes, and for another has remained ossified because of the totalitarian monopoly on power.

In a nascent democracy such as ours now is, we do not believe placing someone in a leading position to be as important as the opportunity for varying opinions to be able to assert themselves at all levels. This does not preclude the possibility of sharing common ground on points of vital interest to Romania while maintaining differences.

Both our history and the experience of the Western democracies demonstrate on this basis the possibility of forming coalitions among seemingly opposed organizations. We spoke to representatives of several parties in an effort to determine opinions on the advisability of a coalition government. "In connection with the possible prospect of a political governmental coalition," we were told by the Republican Party chairman, Mr. Ion Minzatu, "I believe that a coalition is the only alternative if no party emerges as the winner." This party leader ended by commenting that "in this context I personally would welcome such a coalition."

After noting the growing political maturity of the parties and organizations making up the CPUN [National Political Unity Council], a maturity demonstrated above all in that the major interests of society are placed above party interests, Mr. Toma George Maiorescu, president

of the Ecologist Movement of Romania, stated that "if the elections were to be held in September—and everyone agrees that the time between the present and September is needed to allow the politically minded person to come to some maturity, and also that this period is absolutely necessary for carrying out the process of regional organization by new parties—I would obviously not hesitate to say that a coalition government is inevitable; only such a government is capable of taking the country out of the rapidly intensifying crisis. Only such a government would be able to lead society toward stability, calm, and prosperity. The Ecologist Movement of Romania has presented an entire package of proposals in this connection. But there would be no reason for such a government during the two and a half months left until 20 May."

Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, secretary general of the Social Democratic Party, states his party's positions in the following words: "It is too early to make a commitment to a solution of this nature. In my opinion sufficient elements do not currently exist for making such a decision. We believe that such a situation could arise only after the elections. Our basic position regarding the problem of a coalition government is that when the time comes such a government will certainly be in the best interests of the country."

In connection with the possibility of a governing coalition, I. V. Sandulescu, chairman of the Bucharest organization of the National Liberal Party, said that "our answer is that such a thing is out of the question before the elections. If we agreed to the formation of the CPUN, it was out of a desire to create a climate of calm in which to prepare for the election campaign. It was not easy for us to give in and join this union, just as it was not easy for the FSN to renounce its monopoly on power, but we did so precisely to eliminate this tense atmosphere that had been created. It seems that we did not succeed, because this atmosphere has persisted. But we will keep trying to achieve such moderation. If this council was set up, it was because we placed above party interests the interest of the country in creating in the European area the cleanest possible image of the atmosphere in Romania. It is absolutely certain that after the elections it will not be possible for the country to be governed by a single party and that the problem of a government coalition will arise. It remains to be seen what parties will form it; this will depend on the outcome of the election."

"The National Christian Peasant Democratic Party," declared party Secretary General Liviu Petrina, "believes that the current situation in Romania calls for the presence of a government of technicians in the administration of the country to ensure both political neutrality and technical competence. A multiparty coalition government was possible and to be recommended as long as the political parties proper (five or six in number) were the only ones to be considered. A coalition government would be an artificial creation in the current situation with its multitude of parties and would not be able to function in accordance with the needs of the present stage of Romania's progress toward democracy." Asked Friday about a post-election coalition, Mr. Petrina responded drily that "the elections will make the choice."

The balloting will indeed be decisive. However, we believe that the union of several political forces in government would be a decisive step in the direction of strengthening confidence in democracy.

LCY 22 Mar Plenum 'Probably' Postponed

LD2003150190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Commentary by Zoran V. Sekulic]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The announced plenum of the League of Communists of Yuguslavia [LCY] Central Committee will, in all probability, be postponed for the second time and will not take place on 22 March. Although there has been no official confirmation that the session has been postponed, complete political and media silence surrounding the plenum indicate that the debate on a document by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, designed to bring the strands of the party together again, will be postponed until further notice. The LCY has in this way brought itself to a virtual stalemate. [passage indistinct]

Commentary on LCY Presidium Document

AU2003164890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Mar 90 p 3

[Vojko Flegar commentary: "A Letter From Isolation"]

[Text] To wave one's ticket after one has missed the train usually serves little purpose. Sometimes you may get at least some of your money back, if the person at the ticket counter is in a good mood, but you are still at the station from which you intended to depart. Obviously, the so-called Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which has published some kind of stands on the continuation of the interrupted 14th LCY Congress, is not aware of this simple fact.

Perhaps one could discuss whether the said Presidium has not only lost sight of the train, but also of the counter at which it could claim its "money back for the unused ticket," but this will probably be noted by others, if they are interested. At the moment it is certainly more important to ask whether, on the basis of the stands offered, a new "agreement" is possible among the organizations of the Yugoslav Communists formerly joined in the LCY.

At first sight it would seem it is. A person kept in a soundproof room since January who would have read only the congressional discussions and now this document would probably exclaim: Excellent! Now there is really no obstacle preventing even the Slovene Communists any more from attending the resumption of the congress, since almost all their "unacceptable" proposals have been accepted. However, neither the League of Communists of Slovenia [LCS] nor the other "constituent parts of the LCY" have spent this time in isolation, and Yugoslavia in March (April, May, June, or who knows when the congress could "theoretically" continue) is not the same as Yugoslavia in January.

The problem then is not that the majority of the Slovene proposals (but not all) has been accepted, but the problem is that, following both the LC's (of Slovenia and Serbia), the Communists of Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Army—some of them whether they liked it or not—have also taken their independent road, that some republican party leaderships do not master even the situation in their own organization any longer (the danger of a national split in the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]-Party of Democratic Renewal and the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the example of Citluk, quarrels in the League of Communists of Montenegro...), that the Slovene and the Serbian Communists have "gone further" in the meanwhile, and that they are searching for their image in the new times on their own.

Just as an individual must first know what he wants and what he can do before he can cooperate with others, so an organization must know this before it can look for partners. Therefore there is probably no particular need to stress that the Communists in the republics have too much to do with themselves (and the opposition) to make their talks at a "multilateral" Yugoslav level of any use.

On its part, Yugoslavia progressed from the "covert" disintegration in January to a period of "overt" disintegration. It is not possible to predict whether this natural process will lead merely to the ending of Yugoslavia as an ideological creation or will it also irretrievably destroy the possibilities of Yugoslavia's rational construction. The LCY—whether it exists or not, on such or other foundations—is no longer able to influence the final outcome as a "supranational" party [partija ali stranka]. The matters have been taking their course (for some years), and they would have taken that course—it is easy to be wise after the event—even if the congress ended in January in the same way as the so-called Central Committee Presidium of the LCY now wants it to end.

If out of the principle of his (Yugoslav) conviction, worthy Communist Ivica Racan says that he does not intend to concern himself with the proposal for a continuation of the congress, any malicious thought that it serves you right is superfluous when you say that the LCY has missed the train. When the group of people who call themselves the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee realize that they hardly represent anybody, this is only significant to the extent that it is possible for one of them at this moment to think of extreme means to restore "legitimacy."

Communists Favor Milosevic in Poll

AU0603110990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 90 p 5

[D.G. report: "Communists - Milosevic; Alternative Parties - Markovic"]

[Text] Belgrade—According to a poll of the Youth Radio B-92, which was conducted between 9 and 13 February using the method of random sampling (200 citizens of

Belgrade answered questions concerning topical political issues), the two most popular politicians in Belgrade are Slobodan Milosevic and Ante Markovic.

Answering the question of which politician they respected most, 57 percent of the citizens of the capital city answered Slobodan Milosevic, Socialist Republic of Serbia president. The second place with 18.5 percent went to Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president.

Analyzing the data, the researchers of the B-92 radio noticed an interesting regularity, namely that there was close correlation between party membership and the choice of a politician. So, Slobodan Milosevic is the most popular among the members of the League of Communists—86 percent of the Communists voted for him, while Ante Markovic did not seem to be very popular among them, receiving only five percent of the vote.

As regards opposition parties, their supporters rate these two politicians differently. The supporters of the National Radical Party respect Milosevic the most (86 percent) while only five percent of them opted for Markovic. Milosevic was also highly regarded by the supporters of the Serbian National Renewal (67 percent), while Markovic received 14 percent of the vote from the supporters of this party. About one-half (55 percent) of the members of the Democratic Party placed Milosevic in the first place, while one-quarter of the vote (25 percent) were in favor of Markovic. The popularity of the two is reversed in the case of the parties on the left. Markovic is more popular than Milosevic. So, only one-quarter (25 percent) of the "greens" were for Milosevic. Asked which politician they respected most, a third (30 percent) of the greens voted for Markovic. This difference is even more prominent in the case of social democrats. About 11 percent of them were for Milosevic and 33 percent for Markovic. Finally, as regards the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, Markovic is convincingly in the first place with 40 percent of the vote, while only seven percent said they respected Milosevic as a politician.

[The results of the poll are also shown in a bar chart]

Markovic's Presence at Zagreb Convention Defended

AU2003161090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 90 p 1

[Gordana Logar commentary: "Premier at the Convention"]

[Text] Although everyday life in Yugoslavia is a convincing proof of the transient nature of the time when not so long ago one of the leading state politicians proudly said that "we do not need anybody's experience, that we do not need to learn from anybody, even less so to emulate somebody," this kind of thinking, however imprudent it may be, has not stopped being a unit of measurement for what is happening on the domestic political scene.

Premier Markovic himself has also come under the attack of this kind of thinking for participating in the convention of the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]-Party of Democratic Renewal. Markovic's presence was described as a "surprise," if not the news of the day, which undoubtedly suggests that a Yugoslav personality should probably remain outside and above the republican borders since it is indisputable that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (or however it may be called) has clearly been differentiated in terms of states, if not nationalities.

However, this approach precludes a fresher climate of a multiparty system in which every man, regardless of his post or profession, has the right to chose his own party according to, above all, its program.

Even if one ignores the possibility that Ante Markovic, having lost the zealous support of Slovenia, has started a campaign for the reform of Croatia, it remains indisputable that in a multiparty system the premier, too, has the right to his own choice because ultimately the voters will vote freely, without having to pretend, for a person and the program that he is offering. Therefore, it is much more important what Markovic said in Zagreb than what could be, according to some people's opinion, called a return of a "Croat to his base," something one is presumably supposed to treat as a minus point for Markovic as the Yugoslav premier.

If one compares the program offered by the LCC-Party of Democratic Renewal with what Markovic said, he could not be criticized for anything. It is obvious that as regards both the party and program, he has opted to remain a Communist, but a Communist who favors democratic changes, and that as such he will enter the election race. If his reforms turn out to be even slightly successful, they will certainly be backed by a person who has to offer more than just words, stands, and promises in his election campaign.

Using, therefore, some examples of other countries, whose experience is no longer scorned here, it would not be too pretentious to recall the great election victory of the Republican candidate Reagan when he won the second term of office in the White House in 1984. At that time many Democrats also voted for him simply because inflation was low and life was better, despite sharp criticisms with which he was showered concerning other matters.

Republics, Provinces Chamber Session

LD1603150990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces"—TANJUG headline; first part of TANJUG transmission not received]

[Excerpts] [dateline not received] —In connection with the adoption of the conclusions, Franc Krizmancic (Slovenia) reminded the delegates of the chronology of events that led to the disruption of relations between Serbia and Slovenia. Following the 17 January session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces at which conclusions were adopted, including an appeal that work organizations should establish business relations and expand them, on the initiative of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, there was a meeting of the representatives of the Executive Councils of the two republics. However, the meeting failed to produce the desired results, stressed Krizmancic. The Slovene Chamber of Economy, he went on to say, asked 207 enterprises in its republic to renew the contacts with the Serb economy. Cooperation was renewed in nine cases. Several phone calls by the presidents of the two republican Executive Councils did not produce any results either. Worse still, the number of enterprises that broke off cooperation went up so much so that by the middle of last month as many as 270 such cases were recorded.

After noting that the blockade continued, said Krizmancic, the Slovene Assembly took measures to protect its economy. They included the decisions not to make any payments into the Federal Fund for the Underdeveloped Areas, to reduce this republic's share in the federal budget, and not to meet the solidarity commitments to make good the damage resulting from elemental disasters. The Slovene Assembly did not accept the financial program of the fund unless there were reductions in that sector of the fund that applies to Serbia, that is to say Kosovo. It also noted that as far as the economic boycott is concerned, the SFRY Presidency and the FEC are incapable of ensuring respect for our Constitution and our laws.

In order to prevent serious consequences for the economic system and social relations in the Republic of Slovenia and in Yugoslavia, because of the reduced national revenue and regardless of the commitments arising out of federal legislation, the Slovene Assembly will independently be adopting economic self-protection measures and independently decide about meeting its commitments vis-a-vis the socialist republic of Serbia and the Federation, stressed Krizmancic. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that in his statement Krizmancic had made several inaccurate claims and that the economic relations between the two republics had not been broken off through a unilateral decision, Milosv Aleksic (Serbia) said that it was illusory to expect that the intensity of economic measures between Serbia and Slovenia would remain the same within the context of market conditions even after federal government measures. Scores of work organizations in Serbia had stopped working and no doubt among them there were several that cooperated with Slovenia. It is a fact that market logic is an entirely new logic, stressed Aleksic, saying that it must be respected and not evaluated in an entirely tendentious manner. It follows therefore, said Aleksic, that we are not talking about a unilateral break-off of relations or about a boycott. [passage omitted]

One must speak about facts and not invent reasons, said Dr. Budimir Kosutic (Serbia), replying to Krizmancic. Kosutic stressed that it would be fair if whoever cited the Constitution should at the same time grasp that the same Constitution is binding on him too. It so happens that Slovenia had changed many things in the Constitution long before the Serb economic boycott happened. Kosutic urged that one should follow the path indicated by Premier Markovic, which is to create a pluralistic society, economically efficient and democratic, in which the law-governed state, established on federal principles, can operate. Yugoslavia must be developed as a democratic community of our peoples and the shortcomings implicit in the Constitution changed. He urged that the SFRY Presidency, the FEC, and all other organs should respect what has been inscribed in the Constitution. [passage omitted]

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces asked the FEC to express its views on the proposal put forward by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina asking for this republic's inclusion in the "program of economic and financial consolidation of the economy and of the banks in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo."

The chamber approved the law concerning the ratification of the agreement between the Yugoslav Government and the government of the FRG in the light of which agreement the latter country allocates to Yugoslavia the sum of 2.5 billion deutsche marks to provide credits for the return of Yugoslavs temporarily employed in that country, and their employment in Yusgolavia. These resources will be placed at the disposal of our fund that finances job creation in the economically underdeveloped areas of the country. Our returnees will be able to get them on an individual basis too as 30-year loans with a two-percent rate of interest.

President Questions Presidency Statement

AU1103144090 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Clarification by Janez Drnovsek"]

[Text] Considering the numerous inquiries about the initiative of the SFRY Presidency to have the constitutionality of the Ljubljana "meeting of truth" assessed, as reported by the public information media on 6 March 1990, we are conveying an additional clarification:

1. The SFRY Presidency discussed the circumstances of the meeting and of the Serbian blockade on 4 December 1989.
2. While demands were uttered that the SFRY Presidency itself should proclaim that the ban on the meeting was unconstitutional, the Presidency decided to ask the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to assess the Law on

Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia because the constitutional courts alone are empowered to assess the constitutionality of laws.
3. Subsequently, the Presidency has not adopted any new stances and it is therefore not clear to us why the report on this reappeared on 6 March 1990.

[Signed] The Office of the President of the SFRY Presidency.

Multiparty Elections Proposed by Year's End

LD0903222890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav parliament's competent committee proposed today that the current term of MPs should be extended until the end of this year at the latest, when multi-party elections should be enabled.

The Yugoslav Government had planned that a multiparty assembly (parliament) should be constituted by the end of July, but if the federal parliament at its next session adopts its committee's proposal, then the deadline will most likely be moved ahead.

The committee decided that a federal law on associations of citizens should be passed through an abbreviated procedure. Representatives of political parties apparently would enter the parliament on the basis of the said law on associations of citizens, and not on that of special regulations to stipulate the status of political parties.

Constitutional amendments, as committeemen cautioned, do afford the possibility of carrying the legislation on the status of political parties.

The Law on Associations of Citizens in Yugoslavia is merely the "minimum condition" for the legalization of parties—committeemen assess in proposing that a bill on political parties should be drafted simultaneously with preparing amendments to the constitution.

Federal Secretary for Administration and Judiciary Vladimir Kambovski failed to convince the committeemen that the government's deadlines were not too brief for enacting constitutional changes and for constituting a multi-party parliament, although he cautioned them that every delay might endanger the implementation of social and economic reforms in the country.

Mitrovic Claims Success Over Inflation

LD0903132590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Smedrevo, March 8 (TANJUG)—The program of economic and political reforms introduced by the Yugoslav Government has become the sole integrating factor of the country—assessed today Yugoslav Vice Premier Aleksandr Mitrovic.

During his tour of the metallurgical works in Smederevo near Belgrade, Mitrovic pointed out that the government's anti-inflation program, adopted toward the end of 1989, in no longer than two and a half months had brought about an appreciable decline in prices, while reducing inflation in February to eight per cent a month.

In Yugoslavia, inflation ran last year at 2,500 per cent annually, while in December it was 645 per cent, to become one digital in February for the first time in two years.

Mitrovic stressed that zero inflation was expected for March, and then a negative rate in the coming three months. He said personal earnings might be unfrozen in July if the present decline in prices and restrictive money policy were continued.

The vice premier announced the government was to withdraw 14 billion dinars (two billion Deutschemarks) from primary issue, inducing a strong impact on the liquidity of domestic firms and banks.

The federal government is doing its utmost to preclude a collapse of the Yugoslav iron and steel industry and the shut-downs of metallurgical works, said Mitrovic and readily made it clear for metallurgists that they should not count on the government's lenience or concessions, but that they ought to begin to adapt themselves to the market conditions of overall business activity.

The Smederevo metallurgical works, employing 9,500 workers faces financial rehabilitation, while the country's biggest iron works in Zenica (with 23,000 employed) yesterday had to cut down production to 40 per cent capacity because of overindebtedness leaving 10,000 workers as redundant labour.

Commentary Complains About Lack of 'Glasnost'

AU0603125590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 90 p 3

[N. Burzan commentary: "Yugoslav Semi-Glasnost"]

[Text] During his recent visit to Belgrade, Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez did not only hold talks with our leading state officials, but also with the representatives of some newly founded political parties. This was the first meeting between an official foreign guest with the leaders of the emerging and growing Yugoslav opposition.

You may say there is nothing strange about it. There is not, except that the news about this event did not come from domestic sources but from the France Press Agency. The agency reported, from Belgrade, of course, that the Spanish foreign minister met with "members of the opposition, including Veton Suroi (the Kosovo branch of the Association of Yugoslav Democratic Initiative), lawyer Kosta Cavoski (the Democratic Party), and sociologist Milan Nikolic (the Social-Democratic party).

Logically, this has provoked a question: Why did we have to learn about all this from a foreign press agency? Why did we keep silent about this event? Some people may say that this was not a piece of news worth reporting. This is correct, but only to a point. However, this is a real piece of news if one considers the fact that it virtually marked the beginning of official European and world recognition of our opposition parties. After all, this is an event that deserves attention.

That our assessments are correct is confirmed by Radio France International's report from its Belgrade correspondent that Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who recently visited our country, "spent two hours talking with representatives of almost all opposition organizations in Yugoslavia," something our press did not write about.

The official Poland behaved in a similar way several years ago. Not only that it had ignored the existence of the opposition and kept silent about its increasingly frequent contacts with foreign officials, but it also used to get very angry and protest against such contacts. This lasted until the "non-existent" opposition took over power.

Should we not behave differently in this era of glasnost? Have we not learned anything from other people's mistakes (let alone our own)?

In a pluralist society, which we have almost all opted for, opposition is something society cannot be imagined without. Let us not fool ourselves that there is even a single party in the world that does not care for power. Otherwise, it would not exist as a party at all.

Therefore, let us have more "glasnost" when it comes to our opposition. This will not hurt us. On the contrary, it will make it easier for us to discover where the winds come from and in which direction they blow....

Muslims, Croat Christians Join Coalition

LD2103075390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—The Muslim Democratic Party entered a coalition with the Croatian Christian Democratic Party. According to the intimations today of Ivan Cesar, Croatian Christian Democratic Party chairman, the group will soon also be joined by the Society of Albanians in Croatia. The agreement to come together is based on the great similarity in views of the world, human rights and national issues, Ivan Cesar explains.

The Croatian Christian Democratic Party is otherwise one of the six parties in the Coalition of National Accord, and parties in coalition with the Croatian Christian Democratic Party automatically also enter the coalition of national accord.

Croat Peace Movement Joins National Accord

LD0503191190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Split, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat Peace Movement, the only political party with its headquarters in Split, joined the Croat Coalition of National Accord, which was previously joined by independent candidates Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, Mika Tripalo, Ivan Supek, Srecko Bijelica, and Dragutin Haramija.

Currently, five parties form the election coalition in Croatia: the Croat Social Liberal Alliance, the Croat Christian Democratic Party, the Croat Social Democratic Alliance, the Croat Democratic Party, and the Croat Peace Movement. An invitation to join the election coalition was sent to the Croat Democratic Community, which, on the basis of its 200,000-strong membership, believe that it can stand in the elections alone.

The Croat Peace Movement, with branches in Zagreb and nine Dalmation towns in addition to Split, decided to form a permanent coalition with the Croat Christian Democratic Party, headed by Dr. Dragan Lalic and Professor Dr. Ivan Cesar.

Croat Party of Justice Refuses to Run

LD0503175390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The recently registerd Croat Party of Justice [Hrvatska Stranka Prava] stated today that it will not run in the forthcoming elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The statement offers several reasons for this, among them, that "the elections will be held under the supervision of the political police," and that "Yugoslav diplomatic missions refuse to issue visas to many immigrants and, in doing so, the missions prevent them from taking part in the elections, although they are citizens of Croatia."

According to the Croat Party of Justice, a substantial majority of postwar immigrants were "forced to leave their homeland just because they did not agree with the one-party monopoly." Without mentioning amnesty laws for everyone who did not flagrantly breach Yugoslav laws and international norms, the Croat Party of Justice also claims that two-thirds of the overall Croat immigration are unjustly treated as political immigrants.

Among the reasons for deciding not to take part in the elections, the statement finally cites political processes, and the creation of "a certain coalition that obstructs the creation of a united Croat democratic bloc."

Croat Democratic Party Assembly Meets

LD0403225290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Split, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat Democratic Party is fighting for a politically and economically independent state of Croatia in which all individuals, regardless of their nationality and religion, will enjoy materially and spiritually full and happy life. If we cannot agree in a democratic way on the need for such a Croatia or Yugoslavia, then the issue of Croatia's right to self-determination and secession or association with other nations becomes topical. We do not favor present-day Yugoslavia, which at the moment is the most reactionary country in Europe. A confederation of Yugoslav states is the only form acceptable to Croatia.

This statement by the Croat Democratic Party President Vlado Veselica at today's constitutive assembly in Split, was greeted by a tumultuous applause and cheering from over 800 delegates and guests gathered in the Congress Hall of the Marjan Hotel in Split. Only the Croat emblem without, of course, any Yugoslav symbols could be seen on one of the walls. Noisy cheering also greeted Vlado Veselica's confident pronounciation that the Croat party coalition with its independent candidates Savka Dapcevic, Mika Tripalo, and others would win in the coming elections, as well as his call for Marxism and Leninism to be dropped from all school programs and his insistence on a law on general political amnesty that will allow the one-third of all Croats, "full of fear of Bolshevik persecution," to return to their homeland pecefully and, as guaranteed by the UN charter, and with their-not-inconsiderable material resources and know-how, to help Croatia become a rich and modern European state.

Ante Milicevic, president of the party's initative committee in Split, considers it impermissible that Croatia is having its hands tied at the time when its partition is being openly advocated. Its call for the abolition of the state security service and of the Fund for the Undeveloped to which Croatia contributed $1 billion last year alone was greeted with applause. He explained his demands at length and to justify them resorted to slandering "the political police" and to promote the thesis about the economic exploitation of the Croat people.

Dr. Ante Vukasovic, Croat Democratic Party vice president, advocated absolute rights for Serbs and other minority peoples in Croatia, without any revanchism despite the fact that "the Croat people has always been subjected to suppression." He stressed that he would fight to ensure that such rights are available for Croats in other republics, for instance in Montenegro and Bosnia. He also spoke about the low birthrate in Croatia where immediately after the war 100,000 births were registered annually; today this figure stands at 50,000. He also drew attention to the emigration of Croats from some regions of Croatia, for which the status of an autonomous province is being demanded.

A speech by the Croat Democratic Party's second vice president, Djordje Pribicevic, was marked by the denial of everything that has the hallmarks of communism. "The Bolsheviks had to give up power in many countries and will have to do the same here. One form of communism was enough and we need no other, however democratic it purports to be. We have had enough experiments," Milicevic said.

A protest was voiced at today's Assembly over the meeting at Petrova Gora, which was described as a political provocation and a direct attack on Croatia's sovereignty. An incident also occured today when the Assembly denounced as inappropriate some moves by the "fraternal community" (the Croat Democratic Community) upon which representatives of the Croat Democratic Community and a number of guests left the hall. They returned, however, after about 10 minutes.

In conclusion, the Croat Democratic Community was called upon to join the coalition of Croat parties that, following a decision today by the Croat Social-Liberal Party to join it, now consists of five parties.

Malada Discusses LCY at Croat LC Plenum

LD0303213790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat LC [League of Communists] still favors the LCY [LC of Yugoslavia], but only an LCY based on a clearly defined democratic, reform policy. Relations within the LCY can be based only on the principles of equality and independence of republican organizations, and the principle of their voluntarily joining the LCY. Democratic unity, instead of democratic centralism, is the organizational principle of a renewed LCY.

This assessment was presented by Boris Malada, secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, at today's expanded session of the Croat LC Central Committee that discussed the situation and relations within the LCY.

Only flexible parties, Malada added, that are capable of adapting themselves to the contemporary challenges can expect to remain historically relevant and count on the implementation of their projects. This is especially true of our country and the LCY if it wishes to remain a relevant political subject.

The secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium then cautioned that the LC cannot continue to behave as a state and popular party. It must stop with developing, in any situation, global program synthesis that in an intolerant and monistic manner encompass issues pertaining to social life. The LC must start to adjust to the demands of the times and existing social processes because, in the final analysis, people have never found appropriate solutions until life made them possible. Only on the basis of existing processes is it possible to establish ideological and action unity about

everything possible in that particular point in time, but not about all postulates of an all-encompasing ideology.

Later, the secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium spoke at length about the break-off of the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress and made it plain that there is no serious possibility that an eventual continuation of the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress will be successful in transforming the LCY on a new program basis, that we all nominally favor. We are aware, Malada added, that the need for LCY unity springs from people's belief in a cohesive force of the LCY, the belief that both the Croat LC and the LCY are true custodians of their national equality and guarantors that the processes of social reforms, full of uncertainties, will not breed civil war.

This is partly a consequence of a long period in which we were the state party, in that LCY bodies' decisions were almost literaly translated into state decisions. Therefore, people, citizens, and especially members of minority nations in certain areas, as for example, Serbs in Croatia and Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, but also Albanians in Yugoslavia, Slovenes in Yugoslavia, and Croats in Yugoslavia, who are demanding unity call on the LCY or republican LC's to guarantee that this time too changes that we are about to embark on will not disturb equality of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and to prevent civil war, whose occurenace is not excluded.

We must say to our citizens, Malada continued, that we are in favor of a new LCY unity based on reform concept and new program foundations and against unity that covers up the policy of extraordinary situations and solutions that leads to the destruction of both Yugoslavia and all its nations and nationalities.

Recalling that we in Croatia conceive of Yugoslavia as mutually interdependent existence of nations within a democratic Yugoslav federation, Malada drew attention to the fact that history shows that it is possible to ensure full national development in Yugoslavia only within a democratic and equal Yugoslav community, because no national issue can be resolved on its own —only as a part of a whole.

The history also shows that only a Yugoslav community that enables many-sided national development of all its nations is successful in historical terms. This is criteria for our affiliation to Yugoslavia. No one can change our mind regarding our choice of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav spirit.

Precisely for that reason, we will persevere on our course, because it is in the interest of the Croat people, the Serbian people in Croatia, and all nations and nationalities living here, and Yugoslavia as a whole.

Noting that ideas about a forced continuation of the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress bring into question our fundamental orientations, Malada came out in favor of starting with preparations for a regular LCY congress, and that the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress is assessed as unsuccessful.

The goal of a regular congress, according to Malada, is to finally open up a new historical phase of political, programmatic, organizational, and social LCY transformation.

This new LCY identity should be based with full confidence on fundamental values of the Yugoslav socialist movement, self-management, direct democracy self-determination (including the right to secession), existential interdependence of nationalities within democratic Yugoslav federation, and an independent road of the development of democratic socialism.

According to Boris Malada, in this historical phase, the LCY can survive if it champions the modern project of socialist strategy of self-managing social development.

Concluding a very long speech, Boris Malada, secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, said that the LCY cannot be renewed on the basis of program and organizational principles of the congress.

The Croat LC-Party for Democratic Change, is advocating a radical LCY transformation. It was assessed that this was possible only on the basis of a clearly defined policy of democratic reforms and on the basis of rounding reform forces of democratic socialism.

The Croat LC's independence is the precondition for its successful political activity in the republic and the imperative of its activity in the system of multiparty democracy, where parties are accountable only to citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, who either give or refuse to give them their support at the elections. The reform of the Croat LC-the Party for Democratic Change represents our contribution to the LCY reform, Malada underscored.

Proceeding from the principle of independence, the Croat LC-the Party for Democratic Change voluntarily joins the LCY on the basis of a common fundamental program aims and the principle of equality.

In such a new common organization, Malada recalled, decisions cannot be made by outvoting and a false unity cannot be superimposed by forcing others to adopt one's own interest as the only one possible and the only one Yugoslav in character. Important issues can be decided upon only by consensus in all bodies.

At the same time, Malada assesses the work in the working group formed at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the basis of an agreement reached between presidents of the republican LC Central Committee provincial committees and the president of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army as the first positive, although insufficient, steps toward reaching a common stand about open issues regarding LCY renewal.

The secretary of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium expressed the conviction that this work should continue because it shows that open issues can be resolved positively, so that the way out is found on the lines of radical changes and the creation of a renewed organization as a democratic federal party, capable of responding to contemporary chalianges. [passage omitted]

The insistence on the speediest possible convocation of a LCY Central Committee session and the continuation of the extraordinary 14th LCY Congress, Boris Malada stressed, shows that the deep historical changes in which we find ourselves are not apprehended. Objectively speaking, we are not all in the same situation. Some are not facing the challenge of multiparty pluralism, and perhaps that is why they do not comprehend the full depth of social changes. However, we hold that, not only the old concept of socialism, but also the old party model are outmoded. The model cannot be amended with swift and superficial interventions. Only a new party can again open up socialist prospects and ensure the democratic stability of the Yugoslav federation, Boris Malada concluded. [passage omitted]

This item on the agenda [not further clarified] was closed by the endorsement of the Croat LC Central Committee stances proposed (and exposed in Boris Malada's introductory speech). The Croat LC Central Committee also adopted conclusions about forming a special working group that will specify and develop the trust of the inititive of the Croat LC regarding the convocation of a new LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Croat Social Democratic Party Election Program

LD0303143190

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1605 GMT on 2 March caries a 10-minute "Election-90" program, with poor reception. an unidentified announcer says:

"Our guest party today is the Croat Social Democratic Party [SDSH]. The party's president, Antun Vujic, one of its vice presidents, Zeljko Olujic, and a member of the SDSH Presidium, Miroslav Tudjman, are in the studio. The idea of the SDSH was born on 6 December in Zagreb, and the constituent assembly was held 10 days later.

Antn Vujic then explains the principles of the SDSH, saying that he hopes that this party will one day become a global political organization encouraging enterprise, and thus contributing to the development of society. He says that the party ideology is based on the following categories—creativity, safety, progress, and independence, and that special emphasis is laid on making the language of the party simpler. He says that the SDSH defines Yugoslavia as a federation of sovereign states. He goes on to say: "it is the right and duty of Croatia to ensure full national identity for all nations living in the republic and encourage their cultural development."

Concluding, he says that the SDSH is against all persecution for political reasons, and advocates free competition in production, absolute freedom of creativity, and a multiparty system in a law-governed state.

Tudjman then speaks on the infrastructure and the importance of the development of culture. Investments in culture and preservation of cultural heritage must be encouraged, he notes. We must also be open to modern political views, women and youth movements, ecological processes, and so forth, he states in conclusion.

Weekly Wants Croatian Party Stopped

LD0103195690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1802 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—The pro-fascist and chauvinist onslaught of the recently founded Croatian Democratic Community should be halted in the name of true democracy and Yugoslavia's future, the weekly NARODNA ARMIJA writes in its latest issue.

The organ of the Yugoslav People's Army calls for the banning of all parties of similar orientation, wherever they appear in Yugoslavia.

NARODNA ARMIJA is joined in its reaction by the Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA, which says today that the magnitude of the "political darkness" and chauvinistic hatred presented at the community's constituent assembly provoked justified fears throughout the country, including Croatia itself.

The two-day "vampire ball," as the daily calls the assembly, represents the resurrection of nazism and the ideas of the Ustashas (a World War Two quisling movement of Croatian fascists).

NARODNA ARMIJA warns that the Croatian Democratic Community is ominously invoking an "independent state of Croatia" to follow in the footsteps of the puppet state with the same name which was created during Hitler's Third Reich by Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic.

The weekly gives a lengthy biography of the community's leader, Dr Franjo Tudjman (68), who participated in World War Two on the side of the partisans and was elevated to a rank of major-general in 1960, but stripped of it in 1973 after being sentenced to a term of strict imprisonment.

Tudjman, a historian by profession, was one of the leaders of the mass separatist and anti-Yugoslav movement in Croatia in the early 1970's, and spent a total of five yerars in prison following two convictions for activities aimed at creating an "independent state of Croatia."

NARODNA ARMIJA says that the Croatian Democratic Community has accepted into its ranks a number of Ustasha terrorists, who pay membership dues of 100

dollars, that it is closely cooperating with the Ustasha emigre corps and that the bulk of its financing comes from that source.

Croat Democratic Community Holds First Congress

AU0203155190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 p 3

[Sonja Modric report: "Croatia Above All"]

[Text] Zagreb—In the presence of more than 2,000 delegates, of which some 500 were from abroad, the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], one of the first parties to register in Croatia several weeks ago, on 24-25 February held its first general assembly. This loudly announced congress was held in the Vatroslav Lisinski Hall decorated with Croatian flags, on which the five- pointed star was replaced with the Croatian coat of arms. The jubilant atmosphere of "Croatian renaissance" was continuously boosted by loud rounds of applause and chanting for party President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, enthusiastic shouts from the audience, and standing ovations for the speakers.

The assembly of the CDC, with which this party is seriously entering the election campaign in Croatia, as its leaders stress, in order to "transform its current 200,000 membership into 1-million-strong grass roots and score a magnificent win," was opened by Dr. Tudjman, the initiator for the founding of the CDC, a former partisan, a general in the Yugoslav People's Army, and a political prisoner.

Referring to the ground that had been covered by the party, Tudjman stressed that its founding was met with a barrage of slander from the unitarianist-hegemonistic and dogmatic circles, and armed threats. He was personally threatened with death. Stressing that there have not been any rifts and divisions in the party, nor any involvement for personal reasons, Tudjman said that the high national conscience, the resolve to put a stop to the systematic anti-Croatian policy under the current autarchic regime, and the party's commitment to using democratic and non-revanchist means, are the best explanation for the rapid rise of this party and a guarantee for a brilliant future.

Independent State of Croatia—Historic Aspiration

Among the basic political demands of the CDC—which already has branches in a large number of communities in Croatia, Australia, the United States, Canada, the FRG, and other countries in which "Croats live"—Tudjman included the insistence on the right of the Croatian people to self-determination including secession, and the right to voluntarily join other peoples. Tudjman explained the demand for a Croatia that would represent a territorial entirety of the Croatian nation within its historic and natural borders by saying that Tito's Yugoslavia did not exist anymore anyway.

"Those who accuse us of inciting a bloody civil war with this demand are forgetting that we called for this only after the plans for creating a great Serbia had been presented to the international public," Tudjman said.

In partial defense of the "Independent State of Croatia," the opening speaker said that the "Independent State of Croatia" was not just a quisling creation and a fascist criminal act, but an expression of the historic aspirations of the Croatian people for their own state, and an expression of the recognition by international factors—in this case the government of Hitler's Germany—of Croatia's aspiration and its geographical borders. This and many other passages in Tudjman's speech caused frantic rounds of applause. He received similar support when he mentioned Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"According to the present Constitution, Bosnia-Hercegovina is also a national state of the Croatian people," Tudjman said. The founding fathers, Dr. Ante Starcevic, Ante Trumbic, and Stjepan Radic, all spoke about Bosnia-Hercegovina from the point of view of its geopolitical unity with Croatia and the West, not having any doubt in how the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina would vote in a referendum.

Repeating Stjepan Radic's motto, "My own rifle on my shoulder, and my own money in my pocket," Tudjman said that the Croatian people have dearly paid for the establishment of Tito's Yugoslav federation. He gave credit to the Croatian Communists and the Partisans for uniting Rijeka, Istra, Zadar, Losinj, Cres, and Lastovo with Croatia. He then went on to say that the CDC's mention of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOH [Regional Anti-Fascist Council of Natioanal Liberation of Croatia] does not mean the defense of the Constitution, nor a tactical move, but a way of "building up and going beyond, and even escaping from the strongholds of their values." The constituting of the Croatian state through the decisions of the AVNOJ and ZAVNOH provide, according to Tudjman, the starting foundations for the further revival of a full state sovereignty of the Croatian people. This party considers that Croatia's near future can only (or perhaps) lie in a Yugoslav confederation.

Only Abortion Is in Dispute

Dealing with the role of Josip Broz, Tudjman stressed further that greater Serbian politicians attack Tito because they could never agree to his federalism. However, the CDC considers this very establishment of federalism to be virtually the only positive element in Titoism, said Tudjman. He added that "from the Croatian viewpoint" there is, however, no reason to preserve the cult of Tito and his authoritarian rule.

Stressing the party's attitude to several specific issues, Tudjman stressed support for Premier Ante Markovic, but he noted that there have been attempts to buy reform with compromises to centralism of the sort that were once extorted from Croatia through the influence of Tito and Bakaric, and which are now being extorted from

Markovic. Tudjman added that social ownership should be scrapped, the catastrophic consequences of the school reform should be eliminated, and the Zagreb-Karlovac-Rijeka and Zagreb-Split transport links should be constructed and Slavonia should be linked with Dalmatia through Bosnia. He requested that Croatia stop making contributions to the fund for the underdeveloped regions while its own underdeveloped areas are increasingly failing. Finally, he promised all rights to the Serbian and any other peoples and eliminated the danger of any kind of revanchism, and called on all citizens of Croatia, regardless of their previous affiliation, to join the CDC. Along with the claim that the CDC will fulfill the expectations of the entire Croatian people at home and abroad, Tudjman guaranteed a magnificent victory for his party at the upcoming elections.

CDC followers from the FRG, Canada, Australia, and the United States then spoke and were frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause. For example, Zdenka Babic, representative of the 25 CDC branches in the FRG, received vast approval with a speech in Croatian that was full of archaisms and outmoded syntax. She welcomed the meeting by raising her right hand and shouting: "We are the Croatian people too!" She demanded that emigres be allowed to participate in the elections in Croatia by mail, which was a demand that was reiterated by other CDC representatives from abroad, because "no one has the right to elect a leadership without a third of the people." She spoke about the emigres as "slaves who had been sold into exile," who had not been allowed to return to "their longed-for hearths," but who nevertheless "financed informers, executioners, the Army, and killers." As regards the National Liberation Struggle, she said that this was an "occupational historical farce." The journalists who were frequently called regime people thought that someone should disassociate themselves from this but, on the contrary, the whole of this speech that was imbued with hatred was accompanied by frenetic bursts of applause and shouting.

Ante Beljo, a representative from Canada, said that Yugoslavia was responsible for outlawing Croatian interests so that extreme emigre circles had, in his words, always been "full" of agents from the state security service. Misko Primorac, a delegate from the United States, called on all sons of the Croatian home guard, Croatian Ustashas, and Croatian partisans to fight for the interests of the Croatian state, and he promised Dr. Tudjman that this battle would be won.

The assembly was also greeted by representatives from the "Social Democratic Alliance of Croatia," "the Transnational Radical Party," "the Croatian Democratic Alliance," and "the Croatian Peace Movement," as well as Dimitrije Rupel, envoy of the associated Slovene opposition "Demos." Rupel stressed that the Croatian and Slovene democrats have the same aims and wished the CDC every success in the elections.

The issue of abortion was the only obvious point of contention in the atmosphere of exceptional agreement and monolithism and support for Vladimir Seks, Sima Djodan, and the other more prominent speakers, that lasted for two days at the CDC congress. This subject was specifically raised by Tomislav Pavao Duka, a Franciscan monk from Bavaria, who asked for a strict ban on abortion. Dr. Leticija Antolic did not agree with this and said that the CDC cannot advocate such a retrograde and civilizationally outmoded idea because it would lose women's votes. After an attempt by Tudjman to smooth over this quarrel, Ante Bakovic stepped up to the rostrum on Sunday, and in a lengthy plea for the protection of the Croatian family from "monsters in white coats," stated among other things that the "sinister two-child system [German expression used]" had destroyed Croatia. Tudjman intervened again and said that this issue "was one of the most important that had been raised when the CDC was launched."

After rounds of detailed discussion on attitudes to science, culture, the countryside, administration and judiciary, emigrants, ecology, and other subjects of importance for the programmatic aims of the CDC, this party's assembly adopted a statute and elected a new leadership. At the time of going to press, the assembly was still continuing and the election results were not yet known.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Wreaths on Stepinac's Grave

Cardinal Franjo Kuharic last nigh' received a CDC delegation in Zagreb. Party representatives laid wreaths at the graves of Ante Starcevic, Stjepan Radic, Vladimir Nazor, and Alojzije Stepinac on Sunday morning. The CDC assembly paid its respects to the great man of Croatian literature, the deceased poet Jure Kastelan, with a minute's silence.

Fire in the Zagreb "CDC Hall"

The beginning of the CDC assembly on Sunday was marked by the news from the rostrum that a fire had broken out on Sunday morning at 0230 in the CDC hall in Sava Street in Zagreb. As stated, organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the fire brigade immediately went to the scene. No great damage was done but the culprit is still unknown. Neither this nor any other action by our opponents—said Dr. Franjo Tudjman—will stop the CDC on the road on which it has embarked.

Assembly Committee on Militia in Kosovo

AU1103162390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 90 p 3

[D.Pusonjic report: "Investigation of the Irreproachable Militia"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—Has the militia overextended its power when crushing demonstrations in Kosovo? What

attitude is one to take toward the Kosovo alternative movements? Are Albanians in Yugoslavia disenfranchised? These were the moot points brought up at the session of the Internal Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, which was discussing the seventh report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs concerning the implementation of emergency measures in Kosovo.

A statement made by Petar Misovic, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, attracted everybody's attention at the very beginning of the session. He said that Albanian separatists are preparing large demonstrations on 11 March, an anniversary of the 1981 demonstrations, as well as on 28 March, the day on which amendments to the Socialist Republic of Serbia Constitution were promulgated last year. Branko Kostic also said that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs had submitted a report on the militia overextending its power in Kosovo to the Federal Executive Council "recently."

A speech by Rama Alihajdari provoked a string of speeches and responses in reply that were occasionally very unpleasant. Alihajdari spoke about instances where the Secretariat for Internal Affairs had overextended its power. Apart from the cases in Malisevo and Janjevo, Alihajdari mentioned the case of "a member of the Veterans' Federation being killed in Urosevac," and that "of a young man and woman being killed in Podujevo although they had not taken part in any demonstrations." A man was killed in Urosevac "when entering a garage, and another one when returning home from work...." Alihajdari said that members of the militia had beaten innocent citizens at the Titova Mitrovica bus stop, at the Urosevac post office, as well as in a bus in Vucitrn; they also beat up an 80-year-old man in a Decani mosque. In carrying out their work, militiamen barged into the Prizren hospital and caused panic among patients....

Who Says That?

The list of examples was interrupted by Aleksandar Jovanovic, who asked, "Who says that"? "RILINDJA does," Alihajdari replied—and in response to Jovanovic's continued interest, he added, "BORBA and DUGA." Alihajdari then said that "doctors have established that the militia used a larger quantity of tear gas than permitted" and that they also "observed a 1.5-cm entry wound and 9-cm exit wound" on the head of a 15-year old. To all this Jovanovic said that separatists, and not the militia, were to be blamed for everything.

Misovic provided an answer immediately on behalf of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, saying that if it reacted to every untruth the Secretariat would have to spend more time denying press reports than working. He said that the clearing up of unsolved murders is still being worked upon.

Borisav Krajina assessed the activity of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs as being generally "satisfactory," but also said that "there have been some suspicious moves, too." In order to separate the wheat from the chaff, one should make a list of all nationalists (providing their first and second names). As regards the appearance of pamphlets of the Serbian National Renewal, he said, they are a consequence of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. [passage omitted]

The report of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs was finally adopted, and the Federal Executive Council was asked to submit the report of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the subject of extending power to the committee. Bozo Kovac's demand that the policy on Kosovo should be improved on was rejected, because adopting this would mean that the policy carried out so far was not a good one.

[The following passage is carried boxed within the body of the item]

A Report Full of Figures

A total of 90,000 ethnic Albanians demonstrated in 21 towns and 76 villages in Kosovo in February. Eleven citizens who did not participate in the demonstrations were injured, 37 people were wounded by firearms, and 10 more people were injured in some other way, nine of them seriously.

In two days, 61 militiamen had been injured in Titova Mitrovica. During the entire month, two militiamen were slightly wounded by firearms and three received more serious wounds, while 78 were injured in some other way. Six demonstrators have been killed; the oldest was born in 1925 and the youngest in 1972.

One thousand and ninety-two people were detained for participating in demonstrations, and 24 people were prosecuted on criminal charges and 640 on charges of misdemeanor. Fifty Albanian separatist slogans and six from the position of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism were registered. A leaflet by the Serbian National Renewal was found in Suva Reka.

These statistics are from the report made by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the implementation of the state of emergency in Kosovo.

Slovene Party Opposes Recruits Sent to Kosovo

LD0303152290 Belgade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—A protest rally was held today in front of Presern's monument in the center of Ljubljana under the slogan "Against sending Slovene recruits to Kosovo." The ZSMS-Liberal Party [former Socialist Youth Federation] organized the protest. The protest attracted about 500 people who listened quietly to five speakers for 20 minutes without any slogans as they carried only one placard reading: "National service—no thank you."

There are two reasons behind such demonstrations, said Janez Sodrznik, a ZSMS-Liberal Party Presidium

member. The first reason is the order issued by the minister for defense that prohibits serving one's national service in one's own republic, and the second one is the SFRY Presidency's measure that, in the opinion of the ZSMS-Liberal Party, starts the civil war in Kosovo even in a formal way.

"The latest developments show that the Army is taking up a position it objectively should not have, Sodrznik stressed. In his opinion, the Army should therefore be relieved as soon as possible of certain political functions, particularly the function of political police supervising the entire state. "If the Yugoslav Peoples' Army is still the Slovene army, too," Sodrznik added, "we cannot, and will not allow that decisions on its use are made on our behalf and in the name of some higher interests. Instead of "siding with" the miscarried policy toward Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency would do better if it tackled "the so-called black army made up of armed volunteers from Serbia proper and Vojvodina," Janez Sodrznik said. At the meeting, it was demanded of the Slovene state to protect through its competent organs its young men and prevent them from serving their national service in Kosovo. It was also demanded that the SFRY Presidency recall its order immediately, since, as Sodrznik said, "wrong decisions and their consequences should not be sustained by those young men whose only blame is the fact that they hit the age of 19 at this juncture." [passage omitted: ZSMS-Liberal Party President Jozef Skoljc demands that recruits serve their national service within their respective military districts]

"Our message to the SFRY Presidency," Jozef Skoljc said, "is that we can no longer trust it in view of its measures for Kosovo." It can restore our trust only by recalling the additional units of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army in Kosovo, by lifting the state of emergency in Kosovo, and by inviting the Kosovo alternative movements and the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo to negotiations, ensuring their materialization.

Tone Anderlic pointed out the fact that in addition to deploying the Armed Forces, the SFRY Presidency also relies in peacetime on the so-called "guidelines" for actions under peacetime circumstances, which it itself has passed without ever publicizing them. Since the Republic of Slovenia, he said, also shares the responsibility for introducing a state of military emergency in any one part of the country, Anderlic said that they demanded of the republican assembly to immediately resolve this unconstitutional situation and establish responsibility for the unconstitutional situation that has arisen. [passage omitted: other speakers voice similar demands]

'Democratic Forum' Founded in Slovenia

LD0303172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—At the initiative of a group of young Communists, a Democratic Forum was founded in Ljubljana today. It is an independent political organization and movement that acts within the Party of Democratic Reform.

In most of its activities the Democratic Forum will focus on solving the questions and problems of young people. As it stresses in its program orientation, the forum will strive toward European quality of life and will accept fellow thinkers regardless of age and generation differences from all over Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and abroad.

Markovic Receives Polish Deputy Premier

LD0903203990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, FEC [Federal Executive Council] president, received in Belgrade today Polish Deputy Prime Minister Czeslaw Janicki, who is heading a delegation from his country at the session of the mixed committee for economic cooperation.

Markovic and Janicki noted the successful development of economic cooperation, especially in commodities exchange, between Yugoslavia and Poland.

They agreed that higher forms of economic cooperation should be further expanded and promoted on a long-term basis. Markovic and Janicki also discussed political and economic reforms in the two countries.

Nazmi Mustafa, federal secretary for trade and chairman of the Yugoslav side of the mixed committee, also took part in the talks.

Markovic, Italy's De Michelis Hold Talks

LD0203234890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, met Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of the Italian Republic.

In a cordial and very open conversation, Markovic and De Michelis noted that Yugoslav-Italian relations were developing successfully and that all prerequisites exist for further intensifying and expanding economic cooperation. In this regard, they noted good results in cooperation based on the agreement memorandum of 1988 and last year's Adriatic initiative and pointed out their readiness for concluding a new memorandum.

De Michelis stressed that Italy fully supports the implementation of Yugoslav reforms and Yugoslavia's greater inclusion in European integration processes, which would open up new prospects for the promotion of bilateral relations. He said it was essential that a character of Yugoslavia's future institutional integration with the EC be adequately established.

Markovic and De Michelis also talked about the latest developments in Europe and about ways of consolidating quadripartite cooperation in which, apart from Yugoslavia and Italy, Hungary and Austria are also included.

The talks were also attended by Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Foreign Minister on SFRY's European Course

AU0303204990 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 3 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar by Georg Possanner "on the fringe of the meeting of neutral and nonaligned countries in Malta;" date not given]

[Text] [Possanner] Mr. Minister, which role will the CSCE have in the future?

[Loncar] The political changes are more profound than has been expected. We are at the beginning of a new era in Europe and even in the world. This is an irreversible process, but we do not know which institutions it requires.

[Possanner] You say irreversible: Does this also apply to Mikhail Gorbachev's position; is he safe?

[Loncar] I would not say this. After all, he is in the forefront in tackling an enormously difficult task. We can only hope that he is successful.

[Possanner] How do you, as the representative of a nonaligned country, see the future of the two military blocs?

[Loncar] In the same way as the group of neutral and nonaligned countries played a decisive role in the past, it now also faces the unique task of bringing together the forces in Europe. It is clear that the blocs will change, that the military factor will decrease.

[Possanner] Austria is watching with concern the developments in your country. Is there the danger of a secession of Slovenia, of Yugoslavia's breaking up?

[Loncar] We are in the middle of an intensive process of democratization; we are preparing for a market economy and a multiparty system. Both together form the reform process, which frees more centrifugal than centripedal forces. This is natural. However, I hope that after the reform has been successful the centrifugal movements will dominate over the centripedal ones.

[Possanner] Strictly speaking, Yugoslavia is lagging far behind countries like Hungary, Poland, or the CSSR in democratization.

[Loncar] No, there are already 62 parties in the various republics. We have prepared federal elections for May, but in order to give the parties more time for preparation they will probably take place in July. Previously, there will be elections in the individual republics. We have had pluralism before, but not a multiparty system. The East Bloc states only knew an authoritarian system.

[Possanner] What are the chances for Yugoslavia's integration into Europe?

[Loncar] We have had relations with the EC for 15 years; in the meantime, we have also established close cooperation with the European Free Trade Association [EFTA]. A total of 80 percent of all imports of technology come from there; 1 million working people are employed in these countries. There are so many links. We have been on a course toward Europe since the beginning of the reforms and we are far ahead of these East European states. We are already fulfilling many conditions for an association with the EC.

[Possanner] And what about EFTA?

[Loncar] We want to form a free-trade zone with it and then we naturally want to become a member. EFTA lies on the path to the EC. Therefore, we want to go aboard and sail into the direction of the EC. In this we count on Austria's help, because it is that EFTA country with which we have the closest relations.

Loncar Talks with Council of Europe Officials

LD0403222590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2138 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March (TANJUG) [date not received]—The question of Yugoslavia's joining the Council of Europe was the main topic at today's talks in Belgrade between Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Chairman of the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe Joao de Deus Pinheiro and Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere.

Yugoslavia, which currently has special guest status, was the first socialist country which established contacts with the Council of Europe, an organization which rallies 23 European countries with the aim of promoting cooperation in the old continent.

In October last year when Loncar visited the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, he launched an initiative, and subsequently submitted a request, for Yugoslavia's full membership in this international organization. Two months ago, Yugoslav parliament adopted a declaration on Yugoslavia joining in the European integration processes which also expresses readiness for its full membership in the Council of Europe.

Loncar and the officials of the Council of Europe also discussed the latest political and economic restructuring in the continent and the role of the Council of Europe in them.

Loncar informed the official also about the reform processes in Yugoslavia, especially about the development of democracy, underscoring that legal changes are also underway which will bring the rights and freedoms of the citizen to the forefront.

Loncar Meets 'Arafat, Tunisia's Khelil

LD1103109590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Tunis, March 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, who arrived here on Saturday to attend a Non-aligned Mid-East Committee meeting, had talks yesterday evening with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir 'Arafat.

The two officials discussed the latest developments in the Middle East and efforts for initiating a peace process in the region.

'Arafat confirmed PLO's stand that a solution to the Mid-East crisis and the Palestinian question should be sought through peaceful means. He informed the Yugoslav foreign minister about the activities of the concerned parties for the opening of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue as soon as possible.

Loncar also met with PLO political department chief Faruq Qaddumi to discuss today's Non-aligned Mid-East Committee meeting, held at PLO's insistence.

The Yugoslav foreign minister yesterday also met with his Tunisian counterpart Ibrahim Khelil to review the possibilities for promoting Yugoslav-Tunisian economic relations and Mediterranean cooperation.

In 1989 Yugoslav-Tunisian trade valued 40 million dollars.

A number of Yugoslav firms are engaged in investment work in Tunisia. Hidrotehnika from Belgrade has contracted to build a new dam worth some 30 million dollars and interest has been expressed for Yugoslav firms to take part in the construction of the Tunisia-Libya highway.